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THE HISTORY

OF

THE MOGHUL EMPERORS

OF HINDUSTAN

ILLUSTRATED BY THEIR COINS

45592

BY

STANLEY LANE-POOLE

WITH A MAP

Westminster

ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE AND COMPANY

Publishers to the India Office

14 PARLIAMENT STREET S.W

1892

LONDON
PRINTED BY GILBERT AND RIVINGTON LD.
ST. JOHN'S HOUSE CLERKENWELL E.C

NOTE

The following pages are reprinted, by permission of the Trustees, from my *Catalogue of the Coins of the Moghul Emperors of Hindústán in the British Museum*, in the hope that they may be useful to historical students who are not specially numismatists.

STANLEY LANE-POOLE

Athenæum Club,
July 1, 1892.

MOGHUL EMPERORS

OF HINDUSTAN

		A.H.	A.D.
I.	Bábar, Zahír-ad-dín . . .	932	1525
II.	Humáyún, Násir-ad-dín . .	937	1530
III.	Akbar, Jalál-ad-dín . . .	963	1556
IV.	Jahángír, Núr-ad-dín . . .	1014	1605
	Dáwar Bakhsh	1037	1627-8
V.	Sháh-Jahán, Shiháb-ad-dín .	1037	1628
	Shujá' (in Bengal) . . .	1068-70	1658-60
	Murád Bakhsh (in Gujarát) . .	1068	1658
VI.	Aurangzíb 'Á'lamgír, Muhayyí-ad-d.	1069	1659
	A'zam Sháh	1118	1707
	Kám Bakhsh	1119-20	1708
VII.	Bahádur Sháh-'Á'lam, Kutb-ad-dín,	1119	1707
VIII.	Jahándár Sháh, Mu'izz-ad-dín .	1124	1712
IX.	Farrukh-siyar	1124	1713
X.	Rafí'-ad-daraját, Shams-ad-dín .	1131	1719
XI.	Rafí'-ad-daulah Sháh-Jahán II. .	1131	1719
	Niku-siyar	1131	1719
	Ibráhím	1132	1720
XII.	Muhammad, Násir-ad-dín . .	1131	1719
XIII.	Ahmad	1161	1748
XIV.	'Á'lamgír II., 'Azíz-ad-dín . .	1167	1754
	Sháh-Jahán [III.] . . .	1173-4	1759-60
XV.	Sháh-'Á'lam, Jalál-ad-dín . .	1173	1759
	Bídár Bakht	1202-3	1788
XVI.	Muhammad Akbar II. . .	1221	1806
XVII.	Bahádur Sháh II. . . .	1253	1837
	Deposed by the British Government.	1275	1857

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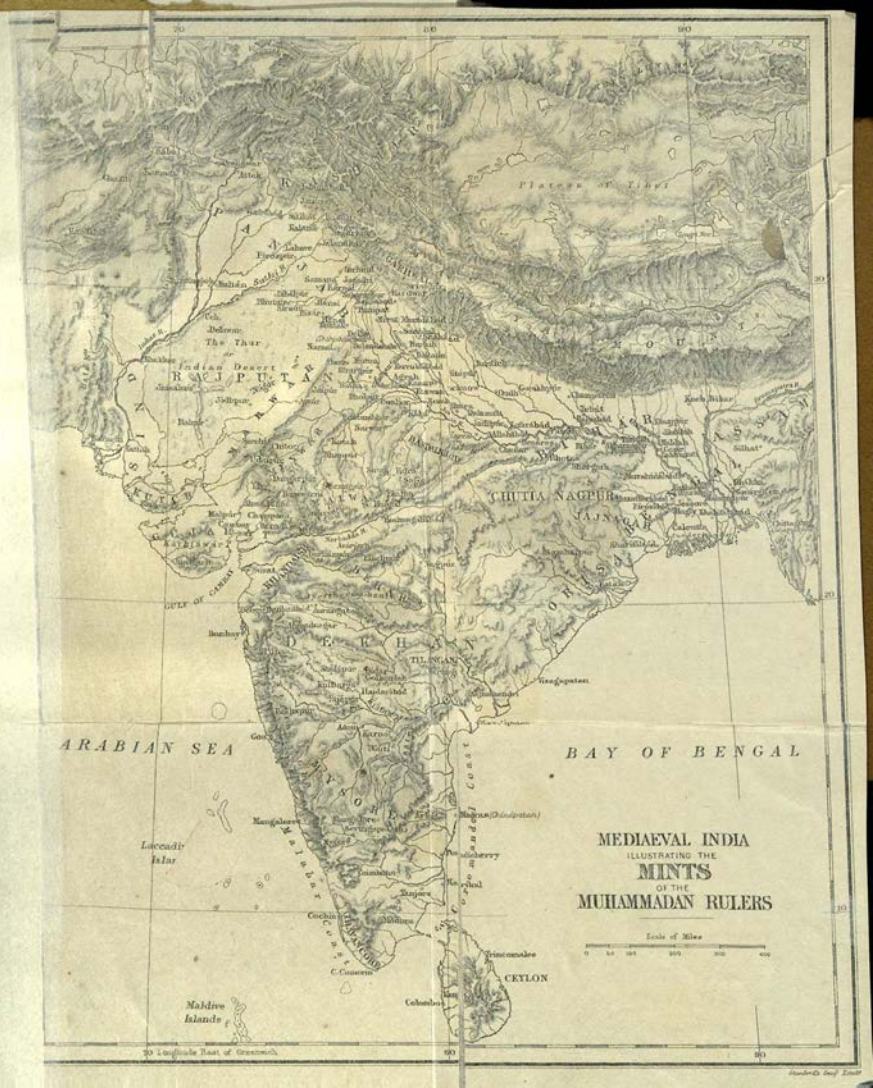
MEDIAEVAL INDIA
ILLUSTRATING THE
MINTS
OF THE
MUHAMMADAN RULERS
ARABIAN SEA
BAY OF BENGAL
CEYLON
Maldive Islands
Laccadiv Islar
Indian Desert
RAJPUTANA
CHUTIA NAGPUR
Plateau of Tibet
Scale of Miles
70
80
90
100

I

HISTORICAL OUTLINE

THE history of the Moghul Empire of Hindústán, which nominally extends from 1525 to 1857, is really contained in much narrower limits. The assured domination of the Moghul Emperors begins with the building-up of the empire by Akbar (1556-1605) and practically ends with the death of Aurangzíb, the last autocrat of their line, in 1707. Before Akbar there was no Moghul Empire, but only the attempt to create one. After Aurangzíb there was still for awhile the framework of an empire, but no emperor: the power fell into the hands of Ministers and Viceroys, and political disintegration prepared the way for British expansion. Not much more than half a century had passed since Aurangzíb 'Álamgír was carried to his tomb near Auràngábád, when the East India Company began to gather up the fragments that remained of Akbar's empire, and the Emperor himself became their pensioner (1765).

The historical founder of the empire was Akbar; but the first of his line to assert imperial power in India was his grandfather, Bábar; unless, indeed, the precedence belongs to his ancestor Tímúr, in virtue of his earlier raids upon Hindústán. BÁBAR, or "Tiger," also called Muhammad and surnamed Zahír-ad-dín, "Upholder of the Faith," was the son of 'Umar Shaikh, the son of Abú-Sa'íd, seventh Khán of Transoxiana; and Abú-Sa'íd was the son of Muhammad Sultán the

son of Miran Sháh, the son of Tímúr. Bábar thus lineally descended in the fifth generation from Tímúr, on his father's side; on his mother's, he traced his pedigree to Chingis Kaán. He was born in 1482 (A.H. 888) in the province of Farghánah, then ruled by his father, whom he succeeded as chieftain about the age of twelve. Henceforward his precocious youth was spent in strife and war. He successfully withstood his envious kinsfolk in Farghánah, and even made incursions into the territory of Samarkand at the age of fifteen; but was eventually defeated and driven from Transoxiana by Shaibání and his Uzbegs about 1504, and forced to console himself with the subduing of Afghánistán and Badakhshán (A.H. 911). For twenty years he remained outwardly content with the kingship of Kábul and the country round about; though he confesses in his *Memoirs* that from the first he had meditated the invasion of India, but "sometimes from the misconduct of my Amírs and their dislike of the project, sometimes from the cabals and opposition of my brothers, I was prevented from prosecuting the expedition."* He was forty-three years of age before he was able to realize his dream.

At the close of 1525 (Safar 932)† he began to occupy the Panjáb with the connivance of the Afghán governor of Lahore. The disunited state of the so-called "Pathán" kingdom offered little resistance to the invader: India

* *Túzak-i Bábarí*, Erskine's (1829) translation, 290. These *Memoirs* were written in Chagatai Turkish, and have been translated into French by M. Pavet de Courteille (1871). The Persian version, which dates from the time of Akbar, was done into English by W. Erskine and J. Leyden (Or. Translation Fund, 1826); and extracts from both versions are given in Sir H. M. Elliot and Prof. Dowson's invaluable *History of India as told by its own Historians*, iv. 218-287. The latter will be frequently referred to by the abbreviation ED.

† *Ibid.* ED. iv. 239 ff.

was divided amongst numerous petty rulers, and the authority of Sultán Ibráhím Lódí of Dehlí was worth little, except in the provinces adjoining his capital. Nevertheless, with the aid of his nobles and feudatories, Ibráhím contrived to bring together an army reckoned by his enemy at 100,000 men, with a thousand elephants. The decisive battle took place on the historic plain of Pánípat, 20th April, 1526, and the defenders were routed with the loss of their king and 15,000 men.* Bábar quickly occupied Dehlí and Agrah, and after defeating the Rájputs under Sanka Rána of Udaipúr, reduced Chánderí, their stronghold, in the following spring. Three years later he died at Agrah, 29th December, 1530 (9 Jumádá I., 937),† aged 48, sovereign "of a vast though incoherent empire, extending from Badakhshán and Kunduz, beyond the Hindú Kúsh, including all Afghánistán, the Panjáb, Hindústán, Rájputána, and Bihár."‡ The kingdoms of Bengal, Gujarát, and Málwah, and the Deccan (Dákhin) formed no part of his dominions.

Bábar's *Memoirs* form a refreshingly frank and vivid autobiography. They give one the impression on the one hand of a gallant and daring soldier, and on the other of a jovial, heedless, boon-fellow. A great change had come over the Mongols, or Moghuls,§ since the days when Tamerlane led his savage pagans on their skull-hunts. The "Tiger's" Moghuls were comparatively civilized Muslims. "Contemporary writings and drawings show Bábar and his followers as a jovial crew of men-at-arms, with fair and ruddy complexions, and

* *Túzak-i Bábarí* (Erskine), 304.

† Nizám-ad-dín, *Tabakát-i Akbarí*, ED. v. 188.

‡ H. G. Keene, *Sketch of the History of Hindustan* (1885), 70.

§ The Arabic name is Mughal, but the form Moghul or Mogul is consecrated by long usage in English. Bábar himself detested the Moghul race, as "the authors of every kind of mischief and devastation," and always called his own people "Turks."

unveiled wives; delighting in brocaded garments and gilded armour, using artillery in war, loving to carouse in the intervals of peace by the banks of streams or in shady gardens."* We read in the *Memoirs* of continual drinking bouts, in which the conqueror of Hindústán sometimes contrived to become thoroughly intoxicated four times in twenty-four hours,—and thus sowed the seeds of a vice which became hereditary in later generations of his descendants. Only his remarkable bodily vigour enabled him to trifle thus with his health. We hear of his riding from Kálpí to Agrah, a distance of 160 miles, in two days; and to his death he combined extraordinary activity with intervals of reckless self-indulgence, which must have hastened his end. His character is a singular mixture of rollicking good-humour, chivalrous generosity, and now and then truly Asiatic ferocity. His portrait, which has been preserved in the copy of his *Memoirs* which belonged to Sháh-Jahán, shows us "a thoughtful gentleman, with pale, oval face, and small, pointed, black moustache." Some notion of his standard of civilization may be derived from his criticism of the shortcomings of the Hindús, of whom he entertained a very mean opinion.

"Hindústán," he says, "is a country that has few pleasures to recommend it. The people are not handsome. They have no idea of the charms of friendly society, of frankly mixing together, or of familiar intercourse. They have no genius, no comprehension of mind, no politeness of manner, no kindness or fellow-feeling, no ingenuity or mechanical invention in planning or executing their handicraft works, no skill or knowledge in design or architecture; they have no good horses, no good flesh, no grapes or musk-melons, no good fruits, no ice or cold water, no good food or bread

* Keene, *op. cit.*, 53.

in their bazars, no baths or colleges, no candles, no torches, not a candlestick."*

Bábar's successor was his eldest son, Muhammad† Humáyún ("Augustus"), surnamed Násir-ad-dín, "Defender of the Faith," who had taken part in his father's Indian campaigns. He was born 6th February, 1511 (916 A.H.),‡ and was, therefore, not yet twenty when he came to the throne. His first enterprise was an unsuccessful attempt to conquer the united kingdom of Gujarát and Málwah, whence his attention was called away by the advance of Shér Khán§ with the Afghán forces of Bengal. After a prolonged struggle Humáyún was decisively worsted in 1542 (949), and took refuge in Sind. For thirteen years the son of Bábar remained in exile, ruling his father's old kingdom of Kábul, whilst Shér Sháh, by his admirable organization of the government of Hindústán, laid the foundations of the future empire of Akbar. In 1555 Humáyún recovered Lahore, and after a sharp contest drove the Pathán forces to the eastward and occupied Dehlí, where an accident ended his life in January, 1556 (963). He was a generous and amiable profligate, much addicted to opium.

With the accession of Humáyún's son, Akbar ("Maximus"), surnamed Jalál-ad-dín, or "Glory of the Faith," the greatest epoch of the Moghul Empire begins. Born on 15th October, 1542 (5 Rajab 949‖), Akbar was only in his fourteenth year when he came to the throne; but he possessed a capable guardian in the

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* *Túzak-i Bábarí* (Erskine), 333.

† It was the fashion of the Moghul Emperors to include Muhammad among their names.

‡ Abu-l-Fazl, *Akbarnámah*, ED. v. 188, *note*. Abu-l-Fazl's optimism is effectually counteracted by the cynicism of Badáóní, ED. v. 477-549.

§ See my *Catalogue of the Coins of the Sultans of Dehlí*, 105 ff.

‖ Nizám-ad-dín, *Tabakát-i Akbarí*, ED. v. 214.

Turkomán Bairám Khán, who commanded the Moghul army and acted as Prime Minister during the Emperor's minority. The Hindú general, Himú, had already seized Dehlí, when Bairám gave him battle, and utterly defeated him (5th November, 1556) on the field of Pánipat—the scene of so many eventful conflicts in Indian history; and the boy-emperor found himself, at a single blow, master of most of Hindústán, though his authority in distant parts of his nominal dominions was at first somewhat shadowy. Akbar soon took the reins of power into his own hands. Henceforward for many years his career is a long record of conquest and annexation. Dehlí and Agrah were his from the day of Pánipat; Gwálior was subdued in 1558 (966), Jaunpúr and Rantambhór in 1559; in 1561 Málwah was overrun, and Burhánpúr in Khandésh fell in 1562 (969); in 1567 (975) Chitór, the stronghold of the Rájputs, commanded by their Rájá Jai Mal, was besieged and stormed, and Rájputána for while submitted to the Moghuls.* Gujarát, nominally province of the empire, rebelled, but was brought into subjection in 1572 (980): Akbar entered its capital, Ahmadábád, and reduced Súrat, Cambay, and Baroda.† Júnágarh, the stronghold of Káthiáwár, was annexed in 1591 (999).‡ Bengal was another province held on an illusory tenure. It was still ruled by the Patháns in nominal dependence upon the empire. But when Dáúd, of the family of Shér Sháh, succeeded to the viceroyalty, he waxed contumacious, and rose in arms. A policy of conciliation proved unavailing, and Dáúd was overthrown in a battle near Jalasúr (1575), and finally killed in 1577 (984). Akbar's authority was thus established in Bengal, though this and other provinces (such as Orissa, Gujarát, and Rájputána) were disturbed from time to

* *Tabákát-i Akbarí*, ED. v. 327-328.
† *Ibid.* v. 350. ‡ *Ibid.* v. 461, 466.

time by temporary insurrections. Badakhshán was abandoned to the Uzbegs in 1585 (993), but, by way of compensation, Kashmír was annexed in 1587, and Kandahár six years later.

In the Deccan, Akbar's power was, so far, scarcely felt: he had, indeed, occupied Khandésh and Berár, and taken Burhánpúr and Elichpúr; but he had reinstated the native Rájás, whose tribute was intermittent and fealty barely nominal. In 1593 he had again to reduce Khandésh, and to occupy Ahmadnagar, the capital of Berár; but in each case he adhered to his policy of reinstating the native rulers as feudatories of the empire. The Rájá of Khandésh for a time justified Akbar's clemency, but Berár was soon in rebellion, partly by reason of the incompetence of Prince Murád, the drunken viceroy of the Deccan. The Emperor's trusted Minister, Abu-l-Fazl, author of the famous *Áín-i Akbarí*, or "Institutes of Akbar," was appointed to supersede him in 1599,* and Akbar himself moved south. Daulatábád had already fallen; Asírgarh, the formidable stronghold of Khandésh, endured a six months' siege, and only surrendered at last to the indomitable persistence of Abu-l-Fazl; while Ahmadnagar fell in 1600 (1008). An inscription at Fathpúr records how "His Majesty the King of Kings, whose court is Paradise, the shadow of God, Jalál-ad-dín Muhammad Akbar Pádisháh, conquered the Deccan and Dándésh,† which was heretofore Khandésh, in the Iláhí year 46, which is the year of the Hijrah 1010," &c.‡

* Murád died soon afterwards of delirium tremens.

† The name was temporarily changed in honour of the new governor, Dániyál, Akbar's son, a drunkard like his brothers. Like Murád, he fell a victim to his vice. Though kept under restraint, his servants smuggled liquor for him in a match-lock barrel, which the prince facetiously called his "bier." Keene, *op. cit.* 157.

‡ The conquest of Asírgarh took place in the 45th year, as recorded by the commemorative coin, No. 166 of the *Catalogue*, but the honours were distributed some months later. On the Iláhí era see p. lxi.

In many of these successful sieges the guns were served by English artillerymen. The Deccan provinces, however, in spite of this triumphant record, were still in a disturbed state at the time of Akbar's death, which occurred in October, 1605 (1014), when he was sixty-three years of age.

The preceding brief catalogue of Akbar's campaigns, by which he obtained and kept control over an empire which stretched from Kábul to Dhákká and from Kashmír to Ahmadnagar, is necessary to the numismatist;* but these warlike triumphs form but a small part of his claim to our admiration. In dealing with the difficulties arising in the government of a peculiarly heterogeneous empire, he stands absolutely supreme among oriental sovereigns, and may even challenge comparison with the greatest of European rulers. It may be true, as Mr. Keene urges, that he owed much of his success to the example of organization set by his able predecessor Shér Sháh; and it is certain that he was deeply indebted to the talents of advisers like Todar Mal and Abu-l-Fazl; but the wisdom of the monarch is shown in the choice of his ministers and in his receptivity to the teaching of history. A dozen Burleighs could not have built up the power of England in the sixteenth century without the vigorous mind of Elizabeth to inspire and control them; and all the Todar Mals in Hindústán could not have welded together into an abiding empire the races, states, and religions of India in the sixteenth century without the aid and countenance of the commanding genius of Akbar. He was himself the spring and fount of the sagacious policy of his government; and the proof of the soundness of his system is the continuance of the Moghul Empire after his death, in spite of the follies

* See the records of these conquests from the coins themselves, *infra*, p. li.

and vices of his successors, until it was undone by a deliberate reversal of his policy in the bigoted reaction of his great-grandson Aurangzíb. To have united under one firm government Hindús and Muhammadans, Shí'ah and Sunnís, Rájputs and Afgháns, and all the numerous races and tribes of Hindústán, was a Herculean task the difficulty of which can be adequately appreciated only by those who know the force of caste prejudices and religious obstinacy in Indian history. Akbar was the first Indian sovereign who solved the problem, if only temporarily. Our own administrators have perhaps at length succeeded in mastering it after a century of perplexing experience.

To comment in detail on Akbar's system of government is beyond the present purpose. It will be sufficient to indicate a few salient features in his policy. His chief difficulties lay in the diversity and jealousies of the races and religions with which he had to deal. He met them by wise toleration. In religion, his latitude went to perhaps fantastic lengths. He encouraged Portuguese priests and Christian pictures and statues; established a hall, called the Díwán-i Khás or 'Ibádat Khánah, "Hall of Worship," for the discussion of philosophical and religious problems by men of diverse opinions; sanctioned something approaching sun-worship, and introduced the solar reckoning of time and the Persian months; abolished* the *Kalimah*, or Muhammadan profession of faith, on the money and in state documents, &c., and substituted the simple formula, *Allaḥú Akbar*, "God is most great," with the response, *Jalla Jaláluhu*, "Glorified be his glory." In short, he set up an eclectic pantheism, in the place of Islám, and selected from various creeds what he thought worthy of admiration, just as he selected

* See below, p. lxvii.

his wives from different nations and creeds, Hindú, Christian, and Muslim, with an impartiality never ventured upon by previous Muhammadan sovereigns. Whatever good or harm his *Dín* or *Tauhíd Iláhí*, "Divine Monotheism," may have done, the practical side of it, as shown in the abolition of all taxes upon religious non-conformity, was a strong influence towards consolidating the empire by making all subjects equal in the sight of the tax-gatherer. To conciliate the prejudices of race, he adopted the principle of reinstating evicted Rájás as tributary chiefs of the empire. He employed Hindús, Shí'ah, and Sunnís equally, and conferred like honours upon each denomination. To form the leading men of all races and creeds into a loyal body, he established a sort of feudal aristocracy, called *mansabdárs*, who were in receipt of salaries or held lands direct from the crown, on condition of supplying men and elephants for the imperial armies: the ranks were graduated like the degrees of *chin* in the modern Russian bureaucracy, and, like them again, the rank was not hereditary. A similar system was employed in Egypt at the time of the Mamlúk Sultáns, from whom Akbar may have derived the idea. Its merits in India were unquestionable. Hindús and Moghuls and Persians stood on an equality as "Amírs of 5000" or "of 500" men, and all were under the command of one of the chief officers of the empire, the Amír-al-Umará, or Premier Noble—the Earl Marshal of Hindústán. The dangers of a territorial aristocracy (which in some form the *mansabdárs* were sure to become) were minimised by a rigorously equitable inspection and collection of the land rents, which formed the bulk of the state revenue (about 10 *crores** of rupees).

* The crore (*karór*) is 100 *lákhs* of 100,000 rupees, and is therefore equal to 10,000,000 rupees, or, taking the rupee at 2*s.* 3*d.* of English money of the time, 1,125,000*l.* sterling.

Other duties had been extensively remitted, and the taxation on the whole was light, the currency was admirable, and the laws were improved.

Akbar's portrait has been drawn by his son Jahángír. He was somewhat over the middle height, with a wheat-coloured complexion, inclining to dark; his eyes and eyebrows were black; his body stout, the chest and brow open; and his arms and fingers were long. His voice was ringing, and in spite of his lack of education his speech was elegant. "His manners and habits were quite different from other people's, and his countenance was full of godlike dignity."*

Akbar was followed by his son Salím, born of a Rájput princess in 1569 (977), who was proclaimed Emperor, 21st October, 1605 (8 Jumádá II., 1014), with the style of Núr-ad-dín ("Light of the Faith") Muhammad JAHÁNGÍR ("World-grasper"). He was thirty-seven years old, and maturity had in some degree mellowed his character. He had more than once broken into open insurrection against his father; he was suspected on very good grounds of having instigated the murder of Akbar's trusted friend and minister, Abu-l-Fazl; he was possessed of a violent and arbitrary temper; and he was a notorious and habitual drunkard. After his accession, however, he displayed little or nothing of his former ferocity, and became almost amiable. Indeed, Sir Thomas Roe describes him, after dinner, as "very affable, and full of gentle conversation."† He treated rebellious officers with clemency; and he not only issued a treatise against tobacco and an edict against intemperance, but himself set the example by seriously reforming his own habits. In his marvellously candid

* *Túzak-i Jahángírí*, ED. vi. 290.

† Letter to Archbp. of Canterbury, 29 Jan. 1615, *apud* Pinkerton, *Coll. of Voyages*, viii. 16.

*Memoirs** he relates how (like his wretched brothers, Murád and Dániyál) he had been addicted to intoxicating liquors from the age of eighteen, and used to drink as much as twenty cups a day, at first of wine, then of "double-distilled liquor," of such potency that it made Sir Thomas Roe sneeze, to the delight of the whole Court. But as time went on, he says, he became sensible of the injury he was doing himself, and in seven years he reduced his allowance to six or seven cups; restricted his potations to the evening; and finally, he avers, he drank only to assist digestion,† though he admits that he indulged excessively in the use of opium. William Hawkins, (a cousin of the famous Sir Richard) who lived for two years in intimate attendance upon "the Mogul," confirms, in the main, these alcoholic statistics, but makes it clear that even the five or six cups of the Emperor's reduced allowance overcame him to such a degree that "being in the height of his drink," he fell into heavy sleep, from which he was roused for supper by his attendants, who had to feed the incapable monarch.‡ "This done," adds Sir Thomas Roe, "he turned to sleep; the candles were popped out: and I groped my way out in the dark."§ The subject possesses a numismatic interest, inasmuch as Jahángír, with the unabashed frankness for which he is noted, had himself portrayed upon some of his coins in the attitude of holding a drinking-cup in his hand.‖

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* There are two distinct versions of the *Túzak-i Jahángírí* (also called the *Wákí'át-i Jahángírí*), or *Memoirs of Jahángír*. One was translated by Major David Price (Or. Transl. Fund, 1829); the other by Atkinson (*Asiat. Misc.* ii. 77). The latter is the better version, and was continued by Muhammad Hádí. Extracts are given in ED. vi.

† *Wákí'át-i Jahángírí*, ED. vi. 285, 341, 500.

‡ *The Hawkins' Voyages*, 437, edited by Clements R Markham (Hakluyt Society, no. 57).

§ Sir Thomas Roe's *Journal*, *apud* Pinkerton, viii. 10.

‖ See p. lxxx.

He was, no doubt, influenced towards a healthier mode of life by his wife, the celebrated Núr-Mahall ("Light of the Palace"), afterwards called *Núr-Jahán* ("Light of the World"). This lady, whose maiden name was Muhr-an-Nisá, or "Seal of Womankind," had attracted the admiration of Jahángír when he was crown-prince; but Akbar married her to a young Turkomán and settled them in Bengal. After Jahángír's accession the husband was killed in a quarrel with the governor of the province, and the wife was placed under the care of one of Akbar's widows, with whom she remained during four years, and then married Jahángír (1610). There is nothing to justify a suspicion of the Emperor's connivance in the husband's death; nor do Indian historians corroborate the invidious criticisms of "Normal" by European travellers: on the contrary, they portray Núr-Mahall as a pattern of all the virtues, and worthy to wield the supreme influence which she obtained over the Emperor. "By degrees," says Muhammad Hádí, the continuer of Jahángír's *Memoirs*, "she became, except in name, undisputed sovereign of the empire, and the king himself became a tool in her hands. He used to say that Núr-Jahán Bégam has been selected, and is wise enough, to conduct the matters of state, and that he wanted only a bottle of wine and piece of meat to keep himself merry. Núr-Jahán won golden opinions from all people. She was liberal and just to all who begged her support. She was an asylum for all sufferers, and helpless girls were married at the expense of her private purse. She must have portioned about five hundred girls in her lifetime, and thousands were grateful for her generosity."* Her beauty and wisdom were universally extolled, and her devotion to her royal husband was attested by the

* ED. vi. 398-9.

white robes she wore in her long retirement during her eighteen years of widowhood till her death in 1645. Jahángír's queen, like his bottle, claims a place in numismatics, for the historian records that "coins were struck in her name, and the royal seal on firmáns bore her signature." That his statement as to coins is correct, the coins themselves prove,* though Tavernier's story of her having designed and issued the famous zodiacal mohrs is certainly erroneous.†

Sir Thomas Roe gives a detailed picture of the Court and life of Jahángír, in which the daily levees of the Emperor formed a feature corresponding to our Court Circular. "The Mogul every morning shows himself to the common people at a window that looks into the plain before his gate. At noon he is there again to see elephants and wild beasts fight, the men of rank being under him within a rail. Hence he retires to sleep among his women. After noon he comes to the Durbar. After supper, at eight of the clock, he comes down to the Guzalcan, a fair court ... where none are admitted but of the first quality, and few of them without leave. Here he discourses of indifferent things very affably. No business of state is done anywhere but at one of these two last places, where it is publicly canvassed, and so registered; which register might be seen for two shillings, and the common people know as much as the council. ... This method is never altered unless sickness or drink obstruct it; and this must be known, for if he be unseen without a reason assigned, the people would mutiny; and for two days no excuse will serve, but the doors must be opened, and some admitted to see him to satisfy others. On Tuesday he sits in judgment, and hears the meanest person's complaints, examines both parties, and often sees execution done by his elephants."‡

* See *Catalogue*, Nos. 513-526. † See below, p. lxxxi.

‡ Sir Thomas Roe's *Journal*, *apud* Pinkerton, viii. 6.

Under Jahángír the Moghul empire retained almost the same boundaries as under his father. The Deccan provinces acquired more independence, however, and the Maráthas began to be heard of for the first time. Bengal and Udaipúr were, as usual, the scenes of insurrection, and Kandahár passed into the possession of the Persian Sháh in 1622, and remained lost to the Moghuls till 1637. The government of the country was carried on, at least nominally, on Akbar's lines, and no innovations, political or religious, were hazarded. Toleration was the order of the day, as in Akbar's time. Father Francisco Corsi was a *persona grata* at Court, and Jahángír appeared to favour Christianity, and had two of his nephews baptized: but the motive of this was said to be either to bar the possible succession of the two princes to the throne, or to provide a means of importing Portuguese wives into the family. When the Jesuits declined to sanction such alliances, the Christianated youths recanted without hesitation. * It is true the Hijrah reckoning was revived in place of the new Iláhí era, but the years of the reign still continued to be calculated on the solar principle, and the Persian names of the solar months were retained. The general tranquillity was due partly to the prestige of Akbar's example, and partly to the ability of Jahángír's queen and ministers, especially Mahábat Khán, an Afghán of Kábul, Ásaf Khán, Núr-Jahán's brother, and the Emperor's able son, Khurram, afterwards Sháh-Jahán, who combined valuable services as a general with frequent rebellion as heir-apparent. Nevertheless, the seeds of corruption were being profusely sown. The accounts of European travellers, such as James I.'s ambassador, Sir Thomas Roe, and his chaplain Edward Terry, William Hawkins, Sir Thomas Herbert, and Pietro della

* W. Hawkins, *l. c.* 138; Roe *ubi supra*, 47.

Valle, who visited the Moghul court at Agrah or Ajmír, or travelled in India between 1608 and 1626, unanimously condemn the venality and inefficiency of the administration. The provinces and *sirkars* were farmed by contractors, the military spirit was weakened, the country was a prey to brigands, and every one, from Núr-Jahán downwards, was greedy of gifts.* Travellers' tales are proverbially to be accepted with caution, but the picture of the court of Jahángír drawn by so capable an observer as Sir Thomas Roe cannot lightly be set aside, even when it forms a glaring contrast to that of the native chroniclers.†

Jahángír died in November, 1627 (28 Safar, 1037)‡ on his way back from one of his frequent visits to the cool valleys of Kashmír. His portrait, after a contemporary picture, is given by Terry,§ and shows us a somewhat truculent *bon vivant*. He was buried in a splendid mausoleum at Lahore, and near him in a humbler tomb lies his renowned empress, Núr-Jahán. The last years of his reign had been clouded by intrigues for the succession, and his death was the signal for usurpation. His undoubted heir was Sháh-Jahán, but his youngest son, *Shahriyár*, had married Núr-Jahán's daughter, and by the mother's advice proclaimed himself Emperor at Lahore, whither he had lately retired in great confusion at the humiliating disappearance of his hair and eyebrows by the ravages of the "fox's disease." The dowager's

* Roe's *Journal*, *apud* Pinkerton, viii, 35.

† In his *History of Hindústán*, Mr. Keene follows the native chroniclers perhaps too exclusively. Mr. Wheeler, on the other hand, entirely repudiates them (except Badáóní, whose detractions fit in with his own views), and relies, with almost superstitious credulity, upon every scrap of European testimony.

‡ Mu'tamad Khán, *Ikbál-náma*h, ED. vi. 435.

§ Terry's Voyage, 446, at end of *Travels of Pietro della Valle* (*a Noble Roman*) *into East-India*, &c., transl. G. Havers, 1665. Colonel Hanna possesses two admirable contemporary portraits of Jahángír.

brother, Ásaf, however, had scruples about prolonging her virtual reign, and possessed a royal son-in-law of his own in the most capable of the princes, Sháh-Jahán: * accordingly, he set up a *fainéant* Emperor, Búlákí, a grandson of Jahángír, with the title of *Dáwar Bakhsh* ("God-given",) as a stop-gap, while he despatched an express to Sháh-Jahán to announce his father's death. Ásaf then defeated, blinded, and eventually executed Shahriyár—who was known by the nickname of *Ná-shudaní* ("Do-nothing"); the "Winter King," Dáwar Bakhsh, vanished—probably to Persia—after his three months' pretence of royalty; and on 25th January, 1628 (18 Jumáda I., 1037),† Sháh-Jahán ascended at Agrah the throne which he was to occupy for thirty years.

SHÁH-JAHÁN Shihábad-dín ("Lord of the World, Flame of the Faith") was born in 1592 (1000 A.H.), and was thirty-six when he came to the throne.‡ His mother was a Hindú, the daughter of the Rána of Marwar, and his paternal grandmother was also a Rájput, so that he was more Indian than Moghul. Nevertheless, by the influence of his Muhammadan wife, he acquired a certain tinge of intolerance entirely foreign to his indolent easy-going father and broad-minded grandfather. His bigotry was scarcely skin-deep, however; for he permitted Jesuit missions in his capital and at his eldest son's court, and placed Hindús in command of his armies. His wars were chiefly in the Deccan, where Bíjápúr and Golkondah were reduced to temporary submission and paid tribute,

* Arjmand Bánu, "Noble Princess," the daughter of Ásaf, and favourite wife of Sháh-Jahán, and mother of his eight sons and six daughters, died in 1631: her monument is the celebrated Táj-Mahall at Agrah.

† ED. vii. 6.

‡ There is an admirable portrait of him, reproduced in colours, from Colonel Hanna's collection, in Mr. Constable's scholarly edition of Bernier's Travels (*Constable's Oriental Miscellany*, vol. i.).

1635 (1045); and in Afghánistán, where the Moghul arms were unsuccessful, as they were also in some fruitless expeditions into Tibet. Kandahár, however, returned for a while to its allegiance in 1637, though recaptured by the Persians in 1648. Many of these campaigns were conducted by Sháh-Jahán's son, Aurangzíb, who proved himself a good soldier and able general, and, by winning the respect and devotion of his troops, prepared himself for an ambitious career.

Sháh-Jahán's reign is chiefly notable for the general tranquillity of the undiminished empire under the stable government of men like Ásaf Khán, Sa'd-alláh 'Allámí, and 'Alí Mardán. Tavernier eulogizes the paternal government of the Emperor, "like a father over his family," and testifies to the security of the roads, and the just administration of the law. A Hindú writer extols the equity of his rule, his wise treatment of his tenants and management of his estates, the probity of his courts of law, his personal supervision of the revenue accounts, and the general prosperity of the empire during his reign.* Sháh-Jahán was a great builder, as his works at Agrah and New Dehlí, and his great canal, attest to this day. A single item in his budget is two and a half crores (nearly 3,000,000*l*) for public edifices. His court at Lahore, or in summer in Kashmír, or at his magnificent palace-suburb of New Dehlí, called Sháhjahánábád (which was completed in A.H. 1058, after building ten years), was splendid and refined, according to the accounts of European visitors. The Augustinian friar, Manrique, who came to inspect the Jesuit missions at Agrah, found the prime minister, Ásaf Khán, at Lahore in a splendid palace decorated with paintings, some of which were of scenes in Christian hagiology

* Rái Bhárá Mal, ED. vii. 171.

He dined with the minister and the Emperor himself, and observed that unveiled ladies were at the table.* The taxation must have been heavy to meet the outlay of this sumptuous court, and we read of no fewer than eighty varieties of imposts. The revenue is said to have risen during the reign from the value of about 17,000,000*l.* to 20,000,000*l.* We possess ample European evidence for the history and life of the period in the travels of Mandelslo, Bernier, Tavernier, and others, whilst a little later the Italian physician, Manouchi or Manucci, wrote his observations made during a long residence at the Moghul court.† Great variety of religious opinion prevailed among the imperial family. Dárá Shikóh, the eldest son, was a freethinker, with a leaning to Christianity, encouraged by three Jesuit priests in his suite. Two of the Emperor's daughters were Christians, and Aurangzíb was a bigoted Muslim. Murád Bakhsh and Shujá' were careless and self-indulgent.

The rivalry of the brothers broke out into open conflict in 1657 (1067), when Sháh-Jahán, who was residing at Dehlí, was attacked by strangury.‡ Dárá immediately took upon himself the office of Regent, and intercepted all communications with his brothers in the outlying provinces. When the news of the Emperor's illness at length became known, general confusion ensued, and

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* *Itinerario* of F. Sebastian Maurique, Religioso Eremita de S. Agustin, 374 (Roma, 1649).

† They have all been translated into English. See *The Voyages and Travels of J. Albert de Mandelslo*, 1638-40, in Adam Olearius's *Voyages and Travels of the Ambassadors sent by Frederick, Duke of Holstein, to the great Duke of Muscovy and the King of Persia*, transl. J. Davies, 1662. Tavernier's *Six Voyages* have recently been re-translated by V. Ball, 1889, and Bernier has been excellently edited by Mr. Archibald Constable, 1891. Manouchi's observations were edited and unfortunately garbled by Père François Catron (1705) and translated into English in 1709.

‡ Khafí Khán, *Muntakhab-al-lubáb*, ED. vii. 214-19.

rebellion, long pent up, burst forth. Prince *Murád Bakhsh* ("Desire-attained") declared himself King in Gujarát, and struck coins in his own name.* *Shujá'* did the like in Bengal, and advanced upon Agrah.† Aurangzíb was watching events from his camp in the Deccan. Dárá and his invalid father moved from Dehlí to Agrah to meet these dangers; an army under Jai Singh, the Rájá of Ambar, defeated Shujá', who, after some further resistance, fled to Burmah and disappeared (1660); and another army under another Hindú, Mahárájá Jaswant Singh, was sent against Murád, who was joined early in 1658 by his brother Aurangzíb, for his own ends, but nominally with the intention of supporting Murád's claim to the throne. A decisive battle was fought at Dharmátpúr, near Ujjain, in April, and the two brothers routed the imperial forces. A second victory near Agrah and the flight of Dárá opened the way to the royal city. Sháh-Jahán, though somewhat recovered from his illness, was made a prisoner, June, 1658 (1068), and remained in captivity at Agrah till his death eight years later, in 1666 (Rajab, 1076). Murád Bakhsh was rudely undeceived by his astute brother, and sent to a dungeon at Dehlí, where he was eventually murdered (1662). Dárá was caught later, paraded in ignominy through the streets of Sháhjahánábád, and executed in his prison (1659).‡

Aurangzíb's road to the throne was now clear. He pretended at first to be acting as his father's deputy; but the farce could not long be kept up, and in May 1659 (1069) he was proclaimed Emperor with the style of Muhayyí-ad-dín AURANGZÍB 'ÁLAMGÍR ("Preserver of the Faith, Throne-adorner, World-grasper"). Born

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* See *Catalogue*, Nos. 692-700. † *Ibid.*, Nos. 690, 691.

‡ Khafí Khán, ED. vii. 221-46, 266, 275.

in A.H. 1028, he was forty years of age at his accession. His mother's strict Muslim teaching, derived from her aunt Núr-Jahán, bore fruit in the son. Aurangzíb was a fanatical Muslim, and a man of strongly marked character, with all the courage of his opinions, and one whose prejudices make themselves felt. Jahángír and Sháh-Jahán had not been at the pains to bring any original ideas to bear upon their government. They had no gift of initiative, but were content to take Akbar's empire as they found it, and let things go on as usual. Provided that Jahángír had his bottle and Sháh-Jahán his stately Peacock Throne and all that it implied, they were content to let well alone. But for the soundness of Akbar's polity, and the wisdom of a series of able ministers, the empire might hardly have survived two such easy-going monarchs.

In Aurangzíb the people soon found that they had to deal with a very different sort of ruler. Not only was he a man with an idea, but he possessed the business capacity and attention to details which enabled him to carry his idea into practice. To him the Moghul empire was not so much a possession to be skilfully managed with the wisdom of this world, as a trust from God to be watched over, as a province of Islám. His wars in the Deccan, which occupied much of his energy throughout his long reign, were not so much prompted by ambition or the spirit of aggrandisement, as inspired by the zeal of a propagandist eager to bring pagan provinces within the pale of a Muhammadan empire. In every department of government the puritanical and bigoted Musalman revealed himself. He began by abolishing the heretical solar year and Persian months of Akbar, and restoring not only the Hijrah reckoning (which Jahángír had reinstated), but the lunar system for the

regnal years and the Arab names of the months.* The significant New Year's festival, or Nauróz, celebrated at the vernal equinox, was strictly prohibited. The worldly luxury of Sháh-Jahán's court was exchanged for an austerity worthy of a Wahhábí tent, and the Emperor himself not only practised extreme asceticism, but followed the Prophet's precept in plying a trade for his own support. He embroidered skull-caps, and, like a literary bootmaker of our own day, he doubtless achieved a *succès d'estime*. He disliked the ostentation of the daily levees, when crowds came to stare at the Emperor as he sat in his belvedere of state; and in abolishing the custom, which was as reassuring as a Court Circular, he materially diminished his personal influence over the people. He stirred up religious jealousies, by taxing Muslim traders less than Hindús, and exasperated the latter, who formed the large majority of his subjects, by demolishing hundreds of their temples and throwing down their idols. He infuriated the Rájputs by attempting to circumcise the Rájá of Marwar's sons and make Muslims of them. He crowned his oppression of the Hindús by reimposing the poll-tax, a duty on heresy, which had never been levied since Akbar abolished it. For such measures as these he was finally mobbed in the streets, but the stern old bigot trampled down the crowds by a charge of his war-elephants. Such a policy in the land of the Hindús was madness, and led surely to the loosing of those ties which Akbar had striven to knit. Nor could it be consistently carried out, as Aurangzíb confessed by his own acts. He had himself married two Hindú wives, and he wedded his son Mu'azzam (afterwards the Emperor Bahádur) to a Hindú princess, as his forefathers had done before him, and thereby promoted

* Khafí Khán, ED. vii. 241.

a mixture of blood which had conduced in a high degree to the improvement of their race; he employed Hindús, like Jaswant Singh and Jai Singh and others, in positions of high trust, and graciously adopted a condescending attitude towards the English of Bombay and Calcutta.

By his strenuous advocacy of Muhammadanism he alienated the Hindús and paved the way for later disaffection. By his continual aggression and interference in the Deccan he brought the Moghul empire into contact with forces which it could neither assimilate nor subdue, and thus really weakened while he seemed to extend his realm. He stirred up the Maráthas, whom he never overcame, but left as a disastrous heritage to his successors. By his ineradicable habit of mistrust and suspicion he disheartened his ministers, and alienated his sons, one at least of whom, Mu'azzam, was inclined to be dutiful to the point of excess. Of his five sons, the eldest, Muhammad (sometimes called Mahmúd) threw in his lot with Shujá', and died in prison (1677). The second, of a Hindú mother, was Mu'azzam, who succeeded him: he, too, was imprisoned for some time by his father on groundless suspicion. The third and fourth, A'zam and Akbar, were children of a Persian lady. Once at least A'zam was on the verge of rebellion, and *Akbar* in 1682 openly espoused the cause of the insurgent Rájputs, assumed the attributes of sovereignty, and was driven into exile and died in Persia about 1706. The youngest, Kám Bakhsh, whose mother was a Hindú, became insubordinate in the Deccan and was put under arrest, only to fall later on in a rebellion against his brother.

In the midst of such troubles, but brave, resolute, and resourceful to the last, Aurangzíb 'Álamgír died, March 1707 (28 Zú-l-ka'dáh 1118),* at the age of

* Khâfí Khán, ED. vii. 386.

almost ninety. "The instant which has been passed in power," he wrote, "has left only sorrow behind it. I have not been the guardian and protector of the empire." With all his marvellous vitality and power of work, he had failed to achieve success, and had placed his empire on the verge of a slope down which it slid irresistibly to dissolution. His narrow and suspicious nature could not inspire enthusiasm or devotion. "The period," Mr. Keene says,* "is dull and depressing; barren of great ideas, great transactions, and great men. With an abundance of energy and many talents and even virtues, the Emperor was one of those singular human beings who combine a hot head with a cold heart, and, having the courage and ambition to achieve power, lack the unscrupulousness by which alone—in such conditions as his—power can be permanently supported and exercised. To this day his name retains its hold in the memory of Indian Muslims as that of the greatest of their rulers; and writers nearer the time can hardly find words to express their admiration of him who unquestionably prepared the ruin of his dynasty. His misfortunes were those of a bold, narrow-minded, suspicious, and centralising egotist. As his father said of him, in terms that he himself records, 'Aurangzíb excelled both in action and in counsel and was well fitted to undertake the burden of affairs; but he was full of subtle suspicion, and never likely to find any one whom he could trust.'"

Yet when this last of the truly Great Moghuls died in 1707 there was little to indicate that the wide empire which he had ruled for half a century was destined to crumble in hardly more than the same period before the inroads of savage mountaineers and the steady encroach-

* *Op. cit.* 220. See his character in ED. vii. 157 ff.

ment of European traders. All the old provinces of Hindústán remained in undisturbed tranquillity. His money bears witness to the extent of his dominions. We find his name on coins issued at nearly forty different mints:* Kábul and Kashmír; Lahore and Multán in the Panjáb; Bhakkar on the Indus; Tattah further south in Sind; Júnágarh in Káthiáwár; Ahmadábád, Súrat, and Cambay in Gujarát; Ajmír in Rájputána; Sháhjahánábád, Sirhind, and Barailí in the *súbah* or province of Dehlí; Akbarábád (Agrah), Nárnól, Etáwah, in the province of Biána; Lucknow in Oudh; Zafarábád in the Alláhábád *súbah;* Akbarnagar and Patnah in Bihár; Makhsúsábád (*i.e.* Murshidábád), Jahángírnagar (Dhákká), and Islámábád (Chittagong), in Bengal. South of the Vindhya mountains, the testimony of the currency to the Emperor's sway is equally positive. We have coins bearing his name from the mints of Burhánpúr in Khandésh, from Ahmadnagar and Aurangábád in Berár; further south, from Sholápúr, Golkondah, Bíjápúr, and Haidarábád; and even from Masulipatan and Chínápatan (Madras), far down on the Coromandel coast. All India, save the very apex of the Deccan triangle, owned the authority of Aurangzíb.

In Akbar's reign, India had been originally divided into twelve *súbahs* or provinces: Agrah, Alláhábád, Oudh, Bihár, Bengal, Dehlí, Lahore, Multán, Ajmír, Málwah, Gujarát, Kábul (with Kashmír); to which were added at a later date Khandésh, Berár, and Ahmadnagar. In Aurangzíb's time there were twenty provinces: Gondwána, Aurangábád, Bíjápúr, Haidarábád, and Bídar were added in the Deccan. The mode of government in these provinces has been ably described by Bernier in a

* In the British Museum and in the list published by Mr. C. J. Rodgers in the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for 1883.

letter to the French minister Colbert.* The system of military feofs continued much as in Akbar's time, and many of these territorial lords were Hindús; they received high salaries, sometimes paid in land, in return for which they maintained a body of retainers, well armed and mounted for the service of the Emperor. The provinces, districts, and cities had their governors, and the administration by all accounts appears to have been fairly good for an oriental system: Manouchi indeed thought it "little inferior to that of other nations," though murder and robbery were undoubtedly far from infrequent crimes.

The history of the Moghul empire after the death of Aurangzíb is a chronicle of weakness in the sovereigns and disintegration in the realm. Seventeen princes exercised the royal prerogative of coinage between 1707 and 1857 (some of whom, however, were usurpers or unsuccessful claimants for the throne), and not one of these displayed the capacity of a ruler. Aurangzíb's eldest surviving son, Mu'azzam ("Very Mighty"), who had been given the title of Sháh-'Álam or "Lord of the World," was governor of Kábul at the time of his father's death, and in his absence, and in default of evidence of the late Emperor's having named a successor, the next brother, *A'zam* ("Mightiest") Sháh, assumed the functions of royalty and struck coins, 1707 (1118),† supported by Asad Khán and his son Zú-l-Fikár, who led what may be called the Persian faction, as opposed to that of the Afgháns and Turks, in the internal politics of Hindústán. Meanwhile Mu'azzam, accompanied by his sons, came down from Kábul, and, joined by the able governor of the Panjáb, Mun'im Khán, occupied Dehlí and Agrah.

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* Bernier's *Travels* (*Constable's Oriental Misc.* i.), 200 ff.

† See *Catalogue*, Nos. 847-851.

Then, with the magnanimity which was his best characteristic, the gentle prince offered to share the empire with his brother. A'zam would not listen to terms, however, and the brothers fought on the plains near Agrah, where A'zam was slain and his army defeated, June, 1707 (18 Rabí' I. 1119).* Asad and Zú-l-Fikár were treated with the new emperor's habitual clemency, and the former was reinstated as prime minister. Mu'azzam then ascended the throne under the title of Sháh-'Álam BAHÁDUR ("Valiant") Sháh. He was then a man of sixty-four; naturally of a conciliatory and merciful disposition, the blood he drew from his Hindú mother made him benignant to his Indian subjects, and should have recommended him to his kinsmen, the refractory Rájputs. His philosophical studies indeed laid him open to the charge of being too much of a Hindú for the approbation of honest Muslims. Nevertheless, the seeds of disaffection sown by the exclusive policy of Aurangzíb bore fruit, and in spite of the new Emperor's concessions, and especially his prudent consent to rescind the hated faith-tax on non-Muslims, the Rájputs continued to nurse their awakened suspicions. Another race, the Játs, a tribe of brigands, nominally Muslims, who had their centre about Bhurtpúr, also became troublesome at this time. A new and dangerous power, that of the Sikhs, sprang up in the Panjáb, sacked Sirhind and Saháranpúr, and in spite of repulses succeeded in harrying the country up to the gates of Lahore. Finally, the Maráthas were waxing stronger and more outrageous every year. The Deccan was the weakest point in the empire from the beginning of the reign. Hardly had Bahádur appointed his youngest brother, *Kám Bakhsh* ("Wish-fulfiller"), viceroy of Bíjápúr and Haidarábád, when that infatuated

* For this period see Khafí Khán, ED. vii. 387-533.

prince rebelled and committed such atrocities that the Emperor was compelled to attack him. Zú-l-Fikár engaged and defeated the rebel king (who was striking coins in full assumption of sovereignty)* near Haidarábád, and Kám Bakhsh died of his wounds (1708, A.H. 1120).

In the midst of this confusion, and surrounded by portents of coming disruption, Bahádur died, 1712 (1124). He left four sons, who immediately entered with the zest of their race upon the struggle for the crown. The eldest, *'Azím-ash-Shán* ("Strong of heart"), first assumed the sceptre, but Zú-l-Fikár, the prime minister, opposed and routed him, and the prince was drowned in his flight. The successful general next defeated and slew two other brothers, Khujistah Akhtár Jahán-Sháh and Rafí'-ásh-Shán, and placed the surviving of the four sons of Bahádur on the throne with the title of JAHÁNDÁR ("World-owner"). The new Emperor was an irredeemable poltroon and an abandoned debauchee. He divided his time between a dancing-girl and low taverns, whence he was brought home in a cart, and on one occasion by inadvertence left there outside his own palace to cool till the morning. "Night and day," says Khafí, "were devoted to the lusts of this vile world. It was a fine time for dancers and singers and all the tribe of actors. There seemed to be a likelihood that the Kázís would turn tosspots and the Muftís become tipplers."† Such profligacy speedily aroused the contempt of his subjects, and two ambitious brothers, Abdallah and Husain, the chiefs of the Sayyids of Bárha, who held the posts of governors of the provinces of Alláhábád and Bihár, and belonged to the Persian sect of the Shí'ah, selected a new candidate for the Peacock Throne.

* See *Catalogue*, Nos. 852, 853. † Khafí Khán, ED. vii. 432-3.

This was FARRUKH-SIYAR ("Happy-natured"), son of the late 'Azím-ash-Shán, and formerly governor of Bengal under Bahádur.* The conspirators were successful; the imperial troops were defeated; the slaughtered body of Jahándár was placed on an elephant, and Zú-l-Fikár's corpse tied to its tail in a mock funeral procession (January, 1713, A.H. 1124). Farrukh-siyar was almost as effeminate as his predecessor, but his ministers and generals were men of pith. They were able to make head against the Rájputs, who gave a daughter of the Rájá of Jodhpúr in marriage to the Emperor, whilst the Sikhs were seriously discomfited and their Guru or prophet was put to death with horrible barbarity. An English embassy from Calcutta was in 1715 received with courtesy at Dehlí, and, after considerable delay, obtained certain concessions which, however, they owed mainly to the diplomatic skill evinced by their surgeon Hamilton in operating upon a tumour which hindered the consummation of the Emperor's marriage with the Rájput princess.

An estrangement had by this time grown up between Farrukh-siyar and the two Sayyids, and Husain, who had been appointed Viceroy of the Deccan, having made a humiliating peace with the Maráthas, marched upon Dehlí, assisted by a contingent of these marauders, who for the first time enjoyed the delight of exercising their predatory propensities in the capital of the Moghul empire. No opposition was attempted; Farrukh-siyar hid himself among his women, whence he was dragged forth, thrown into prison (February 1719, Rabí' II.

* Khâfí Khán states that, on hearing of the death of Bahádur, Farrukh-siyar struck coins in the name of 'Azím-ash-Shán, and, after the latter's death, in his own name. No coins, however, have hitherto been published with the name of 'Azím-ash-Shán; but the mohr No. 890, struck at Murshidábád, with the regnal year 1, may have been issued prior to Jahándár's death. Farrukh-siyar ignored Jahándár's eleven months' reign, and reckoned his own from his father's death. ED. vii. 439, 478, *note*.

1131), and after some months executed. The same year witnessed the remarkable spectacle of four princes successively assuming the crown. Two of these were set up in rapid sequence by the Sayyid brothers: they were both sons of the late prince Rafí'-ash-Shán, the son of Bahádur, and were styled RAFÍ'-AD-DARAJÁT ("Summit of Degree") and RAFÍ'-AD-DAULAH ("Summit of the State") Sháh-Jahán II. The first died in four months, and the second followed him to the grave after holding the nominal sceptre from May to September (20 Rejeb to 11 Zú-l-Ka'dah, 1131). Meanwhile, another claimant appeared in the person of *Nikusiyar* ("Excellent in disposition") a son of Akbar, the rebel son of Aurangzíb, but he was soon disposed of, though not before he had exercised the coveted privilege of issuing his own money.* The empire had fallen into confusion; the contumacy of rájás was condoned with the governorship of provinces; and most of the western part of Hindústán became almost independent in the hands of Hindús, while the Maráthas did what they pleased in the Deccan.

In the midst of this anarchy MUHAMMAD Sháh ascended the throne (Sept., 1719, 11 Zú-l-ka'dah, 1131).† He was a son of Khujistah Akhtar and grandson of Bahádur, and consequently first cousin to the three preceding puppet-kings. He appears to have been only sixteen years of age when he became Emperor, and at first he was forced to acquiesce in the tyranny of the Sayyid brothers; but the Turkish party, headed by Chin Kulich Khán, soon put an end to the domination of these Persian dictators. Their armies were defeated; Sayyid Husain was treacherously murdered, while his brother 'Abdallah, after

* See *Catalogue*, No. 953, and Kháfí Khán, ED. vii. 480-2.
† Kháfí Khán, ED. vii. 485.

setting up *Ibráhím*, a brother of Rafí'-ad-daulah, on the throne in 1720, which he occupied for only a month (9 Zú-l-Hijjah, 1132, to 12 Muharram, 1133), died in captivity in 1723. Chin Kulich Khán, henceforth to be known as Ásaf Jáh Nizám-al-Mulk, became viceroy of the Deccan, and prime minister, but soon departed south to administer the important province which is still ruled by one of his descendants. He was, perhaps, the only really great and powerful man of the reign. His government of the Deccan, though always hampered by the exactions of the Maráthas, was generous and enlightened; he was a patron of poor scholars, and an author himself; and he improved his dominions by building public works, bridges, canals, and mosques. He died in the plenitude of power in June, 1748, at the age of over a hundred years. The struggle for the throne once over, Muhammad Sháh gave himself up to the self-indulgence which had become the birthright of Moghul Emperors, and left his kingdom to be overrun by the Maráthas, and to be broken up into numerous petty principalities, more or less independent, from which most of the present native states of India trace their origin.

The Emperor was aroused from his lethargy by an overwhelming catastrophe. Nádir Sháh, the usurping sovereign of Persia, in response apparently to an invitation from the Persian party in Hindústán, suddenly seized Kandahár and Kábul in 1737, and, after laying waste the Panjáb, entered Lahore. The Moghul army advanced to repel him, but was defeated after an obstinate battle near Karnól. Negotiations for peace were already in progress when Muhammad cut them short by surrendering himself in Nádir's camp. The two armies fraternized and entered Dehlí together on 19 March, 1738 (Zú-l-Hijjah, 1151).

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*. See *Catalogue*, Nos. 954-7; Kháfí Khán, ED. vii. 509.

Here a passing brawl led to a tumult, and Nádir ordered the streets to be swept with grape-shot. An indiscriminate massacre of the inhabitants ensued for nine hours, during which 120,000 people are said to have been slaughtered. In May the Persians marched out of Dehlí,* taking with them a Moghul princess and a treaty by which they obtained all territories west of the Indus, and leaving the Moghul empire quaking and tottering after this unprecedented shock.

Ten years later Ahmad Khán the Durráni, founder of the modern Afghan dynasty, attempted to emulate Nádir's example by invading the Panjáb and occupying Lahore (1748). He was beaten off, for the time, by the Moghuls; but such invasions are a true index to the decay of the empire. Muhammad Sháh died of grief, feeble and passive to the end (April, 1748, 27 Rabí' II. 1161). He is the last of the Moghuls who enjoyed even the semblance of power, and has been called "the seal of the house of Bábar," for "after his demise everything went to wreck."†

His son and successor AHMAD Sháh occupied the throne for fourteen years: but they were all "labour and sorrow." The history of the reign is made up of the continual jealousies and intrigues and open conflicts of the rival Persian and Turkish factions, who fought in the streets of Dehlí; the turbulence of the Játs and of the Rohilas, or Afgháns of Rohilkhand, an added element of anarchy; quarrels between Rájput rájás; incursions of the Maráthas, who, led by chiefs of the Holkar and

* See Nádir's coins, struck at Sháhjahánábád in 1152, Bhakar 1156, and Pesháwar, in the *Catalogue of the Coins of the Shahs of Persia in the British Museum*, by R. S. Poole, 80, 82; and others struck at Lahore 1151, and in Sind (but the reading is doubtful), published by C. J. Rodgers in *Numismatic Chronicle* III. ii. 319-26. See also ED. viii. 76.

† *Siyar-al-Mutaákhirín.*

Sindhia lineage—names soon to become famous in the annals of British rule in India—overran Gujarát and Rájputána; and unwelcome visits from Ahmad Sháh Durráni, who again invaded the Panjáb, and only left it when the Moghuls consented to hold Multán and Lahore as tributary provinces of the Afghán kingdom.* The result of these various disturbing elements was that, while almost all India still professed fealty to the Moghul sovereign and impressed his name upon the local coinage, very little of the original empire really remained under his direct control, except the districts bordering upon the capital. "Gujarát was overrun by the Maráthas; Málwah and Rájputána had ceased to pay tribute or to acknowledge an imperial viceroy, the former being annexed to the Deccan, the latter held in sovereignty by its own rájás. The Játs were independent in the country south of Agrah, and the Bangash Patháns of Farrukhábád were equally so in the central Duáb. Oudh and Alláhábád were practically a kingdom in the hands of Safdar Jang [son of the Nizám]; the eastern Súbahs (Bihár, Bengal, and Orissa) were similarly subject to the dynasty of Iláhwírdí; the Panjáb was tributary to the Afghán state of Kandahár; the Maráthas were supreme elsewhere, save where the Nizám kept them at arm's length."†

At Dehlí itself the power was in the hands of Ghází-ad-dín, a nephew of Safdar Jang, whose youth (he was but sixteen when he was made Amír-al-Umará, or premier noble) was no measure of his audacity and ambition. Dissatisfied with the inefficiency of Ahmad, he deposed and blinded him; then, assuming the office of vazír, he set up a man of fifty-five, the exemplary son of the

* Ample numismatic evidence exists of the presence of the Durránís in the Indus provinces. See C. J. Rodgers in *Journal of the Asiatic Soc. of Bengal*, 1885; and M. Longworth Dames in *Num. Chron.* III. viii. 325-63 (1888).

† Keene, *op. cit.* 339.

scandalous Jahándár, with the title of 'Álamgír II. (June, 1754, 11 Sha'bán, 1167).* Whatever respect the new Emperor received in his diminished dominions was due less to his own undeniable amiability and piety than to the wisdom and courage of two men, Najíb-ad-daulah, the Afghán ruler of "the fifty-two Pargánas" or region about Saháranpúr, who presently became vazír of the empire and its chief defender against the Maráthas; and Shujá'-ad-daulah, who had succeeded his father Safdar Jang as Nawáb of Oudh in October, 1754, and who joined Najíb in his efforts to withstand the domination of the southern invaders. It was not easy, however, to make even a show of imperial government in those evil times of Moghul history; and when Ahmad Durráni again came down from Kandahár and appeared at Dehlí in 1757, Najíb and Ghází showed their discretion in making an ally of a foe who was less to be dreaded than the Maráthas, inasmuch as he went off when he had got the plunder he came for, whereas the tribesmen of Holkar and Sindhia showed every disposition to stay. Having sucked Dehlí dry and drained the surrounding country as far as possible, the Durráni departed to Afghánistán in November, 1757, taking with him a few Moghul princesses for his family, and leaving Najíb as Amír-al-Umará to protect the Emperor against the encroachments of the ambitious and unscrupulous Ghází. The latter accepted the challenge and made war upon Najíb, and meanwhile had the harmless old Emperor brutally and treacherously murdered, November, 1759 (1173). 'Álamgír II. had sat on his tottering throne for five miserable years.

The vazír Ghází-ad-dín then set up a new puppet, a grandson of Kám Bakhsh, under the name of *Sháh-*

* *Tarikh-i 'Álamgír Sání*, ED. viii. 141.

Jahán II. (it should have been III., since Rafí'-ad-daulah was the second who used the title), and the administration at Dehlí was carried on in his name for a few months.* The rightful heir, however, was the son of the late Emperor, 'Alí Gaur, infelicitously styled SHÁH-'ÁLAM ("Lord of the Universe"), and he was at once recognized as emperor by the country at large and by its powerful neighbour, Ahmad the Durráni. This alarming protector was now again in Hindústán, and, after driving away Ghází-ad-dín and his mimic king, he inflicted a memorable and crushing defeat upon the Maráthas in January, 1761, upon the historical field of Pánipat: after which he returned to Afghánistán, leaving Najíb and Shujá' to make the best of their new Emperor.

When the news came of his father's murder, Sháh-'Álam was in Bihár, bent upon establishing his claim to the viceroyalty of the eastern Súbahs, where he thought he had a better chance of enjoying the pleasures of power than in the distracted capital of his ancestors. He soon found, however, that he was out in his reckoning. Since the battle of Plassey in 1757, Bengal (with Bihár and Orissa) had been under the authority of a Nawáb, under British control. The new Emperor, however, did not at once realize the full meaning of the situation. He invaded Bengal, only to be twice repulsed by the Nawáb and the English (1760-1). Aided by Shujá'-ad-daulah, he resumed the attack in 1764, and was utterly routed 23rd October, by Munro at Baksar (Buxar) near the confluence of the Karamnasa and the Ganges.† Next day he came into the British camp, and from that date (if not earlier) the Moghul empire became practically a thing of the past. By firmáns of 12th August, 1765, a treaty

* See *Catalogue*, Nos. 1086-1092.

† ED. viii. 216 ff.

signed at Alláhábád on the 16th, and articles of agreement dated three days later, the East India Company was granted the Díwání or financial administration of Bengal, Bihár, and Orissa, in consideration of the Emperor's being allowed to retain the province of Alláhábád and the district of Korah, and being given a yearly subsidy by the Company, wherewith to maintain his dignity. In other words, the English annexed the three eastern provinces, and Sháh-'Álam, whilst nominally Emperor of India, became really a pensioner of the British Crown. He kept a sorry court for some years at Alláhábád, with an English resident to look after him, and then in 1771 returned to Dehlí, exchanging, as events proved, the protection of the British for the tyranny of the Maráthas. He enjoyed, however, a brief interval of prosperity, almost of power, during the able administration of Mírzá Najaf; but the gleam of sunshine was followed by darkness. Sháh-'Álam was barbarously blinded by Ghulám Kádir in 1788, and a new puppet, *Bídár-Bakht* ("Of wakeful fortune"), son of Ahmad, was set up.* Immediately afterwards the Maráthas entered into possession, avenged the crime, and deposed the usurper, but kept the unfortunate Emperor completely under control. Thus he remained till Lord Lake's victory in 1803 freed him and Hindústán from the southern pestilence.

From the Treaty of Alláhábád in 1765 onwards the history of India has little to do with the Great Moghul: it is the history of the struggle of many adventurers of various nations for the fragments of a broken empire,† and the record of the final triumph of the English. As

* He sat on the abased throne from Shawwál, 1202, to Jumádá II, 1203 (1788). See *Catalogue*, Nos. 1206-9.

† Mr. Keene's *Fall of the Mughal Empire* (1887) gives a detailed and accurate account of this period.

such it need not be detailed in this place: such parts of it as are necessary to the numismatist will be found discussed in § ix, below. Here it is only necessary to add that Sháh-'Álam died in 1806 (1221), and was succeeded in his position of imperial pensioner of the British Crown by his son, MUHAMMAD AKBAR II.; who in turn was followed in 1837 (1253) by his son, BAHÁDUR II., whose participation in the Indian Mutiny led to his banishment in 1857 to Rangoon, where this last of the Moghul Emperors died in 1862.

The task of England has been to undo the disastrous work of Aurangzíb. "It was by the alienation of the native races that the Moghul Empire perished: it is by the incorporation of those races into a loyal and united people that the British rule will endure."* But whilst endeavouring to restore Akbar's empire by Akbar's policy of wise conciliation, we have to remember that neither empire nor policy could have existed without the strong dominant ascendancy of Akbar himself; nor can the Empress of India's domination in her eastern Empire dispense with a strong and absolute British authority, supreme and paramount over all.

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* Sir William Wilson Hunter, *The Ruin of Aurangzeb*, in *XIXth Century*, May, 1887.

II.

THE CABINET OF MOGHUL COINS

The series of coins of the Moghul Emperors of Hindústán in the British Museum has long been celebrated, and the important additions of the last ten years have placed it at the head of all similar collections. The nucleus of this unrivalled cabinet was the rich bequest of William Marsden in 1834. This was notably augmented by the purchase in 1847 and 1850 of coins collected by the *doyen* of Indian numismatists, Prinsep, and his worthy disciple, Edward Thomas, and by the acquisition in 1853 of the valuable Eden cabinet. Within the last decade the coins originally preserved at the India House and Office were transferred to the British Museum (1882); the fine collection of Mr. A. Grant was added in 1885; and the splendid Arabic and Persian cabinet of Gen. Sir Alexander Cunningham was purchased in 1888; while the Government of India, the Bengal Asiatic Society, the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and the Archaeological Survey of the Panjáb, have largely contributed towards filling up the gaps in the National series. These are the chief constituents in the collection; but a number of officers, civilians, and travellers in India have continually brought a few rare specimens to the Museum, and many names well known to others than numismatists may be recognised among these collectors; such as Professor H. H. Wilson, Col. Guthrie, Col. Tobin Bush, Major Hay, Sir Bartle Frere, Mr. James Gibbs, Mr. James Burgess, Mr. Da Cunha, &c.; whilst among the early benefactors of the collection, though in small numbers, may be mentioned Miss Sarah Sophia Banks

(1818), the Rev. Clayton Mordaunt Cracherode (1799), Mr. R. Payne Knight (1824), and his Majesty King George III., who contributed four specimens.

The relative strength of the various component elements of the Moghul series may be summarized as follows. Excluding the East India Company's coinage, the series consists of about 1250 coins. Of these the following collections contributed nearly 1000:—

Marsden	173
Cunningham	147
India Office	132
Alex. Grant	101
Prinsep	65
Eden	57
Thomas	58
Government of India	34
Panjáb Archaeological Survey	30
Bengal Asiatic Society	28
Hay, Payne Knight, Gibbs, Playfair, Theobald, and Bombay Asiatic Society (from 10 to 20 each)	97
Banks, Prof. Wilson, Bank of England Coll., Cracherode, Bush, Stubbs, Pearse, Frere, Yeames, Cureton, Burnes, Stewart, De Bode, Guthrie, Da Cunha, & George III. (under 10 each)	74

About two-thirds of the Moghul coinage, as represented in the British Museum, falls under the third, fourth, fifth and sixth Emperors, Akbar, Jahángír, Sháh-Jahán, and Aurangzíb, whose reigns cover rather more than half the interval between the accession of Bábar in 1525 (A.H. 932) and the death of Sháh-'Álam in 1806 (1221). The actual numbers of gold, silver, and copper coins of these four Emperors are as follows:—

	N	*R*	*Æ*	Total
Akbar	75	168	39	282
Jahángír	83	161	1	245
Sháh-Jahán	50	123	—	173
Aurangzíb	24	125	—	149
Total	232	577	40	849

In this table, the very large proportion of gold to silver (more than one-half in the reign of Jahángír, and ·4 on the whole number) and the extraordinary scarcity of copper will be observed. The latter subject will call for discussion later (§ 8).

The coins of the two Emperors preceding Akbar, Bábar and Humáyún, which are attributable to their Indian government, are very few, and partake of the character of the currency of Transoxiana, the province whence Bábar advanced to rule in India. Some Transoxine issues of Bábar are described in the *Catalogue of Oriental Coins*, Vol. vii, p. 163, and *Additions* part ii, p. 163, and in the *Catalogue of Persian Coins*, pp. xxv and 210. The Kashmír issues of Humáyún and Akbar are noticed in the *Catalogue of Indian Coins, Muhammadan States*, p. 80.

Of the seventeen Emperors and pretenders who struck coins between the death of Aurangzíb and the accession of Sháh-'Álam, only Muhammad Sháh appears to have issued a large currency (*N* 20. *R* 63 = 83); Farrukh-siyar is represented by 47 coins; and the others by numbers ranging from 1 to 29. Sháh-'Álam's coinage, numerous as it is, as will be explained further on (§ ix), cannot be regarded as his personal coinage in the same sense as that of Akbar.

III

MINT CITIES

The range of mints embraced in the rich series of coins from Akbar to Aurangzíb furnishes a faithful chart of the growth and extent of the Moghul Empire. In the following list the later Emperors are included, though they add little to the data. Bábar and Humáyún's mints are represented only by Lahore in the British Museum collection.

Akbar. 963—1014 (1556—1605)	Agrah, Lahore, Dehlí, Ahmadábád, Burhánpúr, Patnah, Tattah, Kábul, Multán, Alláhábád, Nárnól, Gwálior, Sárangpúr, Jaunpúr, Sirhind, Udaipúr, Fathpúr, Urdú-Zafar-Karín, Urdú, Asír, Sítápúr, Dógám, Malpúr, Bairátah.
Jahángír. 1014—37 (1605—27)	Agrah, Lahore, Dehlí, Ahmadábád, Burhánpúr, Patnah, Súrat, Tattah, Kábul, Ajmír, Jahángírnagar [Dhákká], Akbarnagar, Kashmír, Kandahár.
Dáwar Bakhsh. 1037 (1627-8)	Lahore.
Sháh-Jahán. 1037—68 (1628—58)	Agrah and Akbarábád, Lahore, Dehlí and Sháhjahánábád, Ahmadábád, Burhánpúr, Patnah, Súrat, Tattah, Kábul, Multán, Alláhábád, Jahángírnagar [Dhákká], Akbarnagar, Kashmír, Kandahár, Júnahgarh, Daulatábád, Bhakar.

Sháh Shujá'. 1068—70 (1656—60)	Akbarábád [*i.e.* Agrah].
Murád Bakhsh. 1068 (1658)	Ahmadábád, Cambay, Súrat.
Aurangzíb. 1069—1118 (1659—1707)	Akbarábád [Agrah], Lahore, Sháhjahánábád [Dehlí], Burhánpúr, Patnah, Súrat, Ṭattah, Kábul, Ajmír, Multán, Nárnól, Júnahgarh, Cambay, Etáwah, Khujistah-bunyád, and Aurangábád, Golkondah, Masulipatan, Ahmadnagar, Bíjápúr, Chínápatan [Madras], Nasratábád, Baraílí, Lucknow, 'Álamgírpúr, Zafarpúr, Zafarábád.
A'zam. 1118-19 (1707)	Ahmadábád, Burhánpúr, Khujistah-bunyád [Aurangábád.]
Kám Bakhsh. 1119-20 (1708)	Bíjápúr, Haidarábád.
Bahádur. 1119—23 (1707—12)	Akbarábád [Agrah], Lahore, Sháhjahánábád [Dehlí], Burhánpúr, 'Azímábád [Patnah], Súrat, Ajmír, Pesháwar, Khujístah-bunyád [Aurangábád], Sholápúr, Ujjain.
Jahándár. 1124 (1712)	Akbarábád [Agrah], Sháhjahánábád [Dehlí], Súrat, Khujistah-bunyád [Aurangábád].

FARRUKH-SIYAR 1124—31 (1713—19)	Akbarábád [Agrah], Lahore, Sháhjahánábád [Dehlí], Burhánpúr, Patnah and Azímábád, Súrat, Multán, Gwálior, Etáwah, Bíjápúr, Chínápatan [Madras], Barailí, Arkát, Katak, A'zamnagar, Imtiyázgarh, Gútí, Gangpúr, Murshidábád.
RAFÍ'-AD-DARAJÁT. 1131 (1719)	Akbarábád [Agrah], Lahore, Sháhjahanábád [Dehlí], Patnah, Mu'azzamábád.
RAFÍ'-AD-DAULAH. 1131 (1719)	Akbarábád [Agrah], Lahore, Sháhjahánábád [Dehlí], 'Azímábád [Patnah], Súrat, Khujistah-bunyád [Aurangábád], Barailí, Murshidábád.
Niku-siyar. 1131 (1719)	Súrat.
Ibráhím. 1132 (1720)	Sháhjahánábád [Dehlí].
MUHAMMAD. 1131—61 (1719—48)	Akbarábád [Agrah], Lahore, Sháhjahánábád [Dehlí], 'Azímábád [Patnah], Súrat, Tattah, Akbarnagar-Oudh, Kashmír, Etáwah, Khujistah-bunyád [Aurangábád], Barailí, Murshidábád, Kúrá, Ajáyúr, Islámábád [Chittagong], Benáres, Sháhábád, Siwái-Jaipúr, Imtiyázgarh, Farrukhábád.

Ahmad. 1161—7 (1748—54)	Akbarábád [Agrah], Sháhjahánábád [Dehlí], 'Azímábád [Patnah], Murshidábád, Benáres, Ahmadnagar-Farrukhábád, Murádábád.
'Álamgír II. 1167—73 (1754—60)	Akbarábád [Agrah], Lahore, Sháhjahánábád [Dehlí], Murshidábád, Ahmadnagar-Farrukhábád, Imtiyázgarh, Indrapúr [Indore].
Sháh-Jahán III. 1173 (1760-1)	Sháhjahánábád [Dehlí], Ahmadábád, Ahmadnagar-Farrukhábád, Indrapúr [Indore], Islámábád [Chittagong].
Shah-'Álam. 1173—1221 (1761—1806)	Akbarábád [Agrah], Sháhjahánábád [Dehlí], Ahmadábád, 'Azímábád [Patnah], Súrat, Murshidábád, Ahmadnagar-Farrukhábád, Etáwah, Benáres, Bahádurpatan, Dilshádábád, Jahángírnagar [Dhákká], Srínagar, Lucknow, Najíbábád.
Bídár-Bakht. 1202-3 (1788)	Sháhjahánábád [Dehlí], Ahmadábád.
Muhammad Akbar II. 1221—53 (1806—37)	Sháhjahánábád [Dehlí].
Bahádur II. 1253—75 (1837—57)	Sháhjahánábád [Dehlí].

A glance at the accompanying map of India will immediately show the wide range of territory embraced

by these mint-cities. In Akbar's time they spread from Kábul and Tattah on the west to Patnah on the east, and from Lahore in the north to Udaipúr in Rájputána, and Asírgarh in Khandésh. In the reign of Aurangzíb we find a large addition of Deccan mints, due to this Emperor's wars in the south. Under the pretender Kám Bakhsh, Haidarábád occurs for the first time; Arkát and Gútí appear under Farrukh-siyar, as well as the new fiscal capital of Bengal, Murshidábád, afterwards familiar on the coins of the East India Company.

The first appearance of many of these mints possesses an historical importance. The occurrence of the mint Ahmadábád on a gold mohr of 980 evidently marks the conquest of Gujarát, of which this city was the capital, in 980 (1572). Still more notable is the mohr no. 63. It bears the unique formula ضرب محمداباد عرف اديپور مفتوحة "Struck at Muhammadábád commonly called Udaipúr, conquered," with the date 984, which corresponds to the reduction of that frequently insurgent Rájput city by Akbar in 1577. The first rupee of Burhánpúr (no 197), issued in the month Dai of 38 Iláhí (1593), records the invasion of the provinces of Khandésh and Berár in 1001. The mohr of Asír (no. 166), again, with the curious device of a falcon, and the Iláhí year 45, clearly commemorates Akbar's later conquest of the fortress of Asírgarh, the strong place of Khandésh, and the discovery of immense treasure there, in the summer of 1600. Akbar's new palace of Fathpúr, or "Victory-town," which he founded at Síkrí, 27 miles south-west of Agrah in 976-9 (1569-71), is represented in his coinage only from 986 to 989, and thenceforth disappears from the series. Mr. Rodgers, however, has described * a Zodiacal mohr (Capricornus) of Jahángír's, bearing this mint and the 14th year of his reign, and 1028 A.H. The mint Urdu,

* *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, lvii. 26.

or Urdú-Zafar-Karín ("Camp linked to Victory"), is supposed to indicate the striking of coins during Akbar's victorious progresses, in the north probably, on his way to his summer resort in the happy valley of Kashmír. It is possible, however, that the name Urdú-Zafar-Karín may possess some mystical import. All the coins bearing this mint, if such it be, present, in the place of the usual ciphers indicating the date, the single word الف, 1000. This is the only instance in the whole series (except احد in recording the first regnal year) of the use of an Arabic numeral in the place of ciphers, and it has a certain significance in view of the following circumstances recorded by the historian Badáóní. As early as 990 Akbar had convinced himself that the Muhammadan religion was destined to last exactly 1000 years from the Hijrah and no more. It was believed that the second advent would be inaugurated by the coming of the Mahdí, and Akbar appears to have encouraged the expectation. He ordered the "Era of the Thousand" to be engraved on the coins, and commanded a Shíya'í divine to write a *Taríkh-i Alfí* or "History of the Millennium" (A.H. 1-1000), and confided the completion of it to Badáóní himself. The work appeared in the year 1000 A.H. (1592); and in the same year Akbar called-in all the old coins of his predecessors and melted them down.* There may be some connexion between this "Era of a Thousand" and the year الف 1000 on the coins; and it may not be unreasonable to suggest that these millennium pieces with the word الف are the product of the melting down of older issues recorded to have taken place in the year 1000 of the Hijrah. If this be a correct surmise, the name Urdú-Zafar-Karín may bear some such signification, in the mystical phraseology of the Shí'ah, as "Camp of the approaching triumph of the Faith."

* Badáóní, ED. v. 534, 542.

Abu-l-Fazl's account of Akbar's mints in the *Áín-i-Akbarí* is very imperfect. He states that at the beginning of the reign gold was struck in many parts of the empire; but at the time he wrote, only at four places, the seat of government [Fathpúr], Bengál [*i.e.* Dhákká], Ahmadábád, and Kábul. Silver was also coined there, and likewise at ten other towns:—Iláhábás, Agrah, Ujjain, Súrat, Dehlí, Patnah, Kashmír, Lahore, Multán, and Tándah. Copper, however, he says, proceeded from twenty mints:—Ajmír, Oudh, Atak, Alwar, Badáón, Benáres, Bhakkar, Bahrah, Patnah, Jaunpúr, Jálandár, Hardwár, Hisár Fírózah, Kálpi, Gwálior, Górakhpúr, Kalánwar, Lucknow, Mandú, Nágór, Sirhind, Siálkót, Sironj, Saháranpúr, Sárangpúr, Sambal, Kanauj, Rantambhór.* A comparison with the coins will at once show the inaccuracy of these statements.

Few of Akbar's mints present difficulties in identification. The mohr no. 31 is ascribed to Sárangpúr, but it must be admitted that there is no trace of the ڭ in the mint, which reads merely سارنپور It may be urged, however, that as this city, the capital of Málwah, was annexed by Akbar in 969, according to the *Tabakát-i Akbarí*, the appearance of a solitary gold piece with its name in 972 (the date of this coin) was in character with Akbar's proceedings at Udaipúr and Asírgarh. All three are in the nature of commemorative medals, and we do not meet with these mints again in the series. The name سلور on no. 177 has been read پشاور Pesháwar, but with little confidence; Mr. Rodgers,† however, suggests سیتاپور Sítápúr, and the diacritical points favour his interpretation. Mr. Rodgers and Mr. Oliver‡ have read the mint دوكام as دوكانو, Dóganw:

* See § 8 below.

† *Journ. As. Soc. Benjal*, lii. 97.

‡ *Ibid.* lv.

but, while it is most probably the same name, there can be no question that the last letter on the copper coins nos. 263, 271, is مر not نو. Several places called Deogaon are mentioned in Abu-l-Fazl's list of Todar Mal's rent-roll. Málpúr in Gujarát, and Bairátah, which Gen. Sir Alex. Cunningham supposes to be Vairáta, in Rájputána, noted for copper mines, are among the rarer mints which occur only among Akbar's copper currency. The mint Tattah has frequently been confused with Patnah: the distinction is explained in a footnote to the *Catalogue*, p. 37.

Among Jahángír's mints we find evidence of this Emperor's well-known predilection for the cool valleys of Kashmír and Afghánistán as refuges from the summer heats of the Indian plains. Kashmír, Kandahár, and Kábul occur frequently upon his coins; and at first sight one is tempted to identify Jahángírnagar with Jahángírpúr, a familiar hunting-ground of the Emperor on the way from Lahore to Kashmír, especially as it first occurs at a time when he was frequently in that neighbourhood: but a comparison of the style of the engraving on the coins of this mint with that of the contemporary coins of Patnah, another mint of the Eastern Súbahs, leaves little doubt that Prof. Dowson* is right in identifying Jahángírnagar with Dhákká (originally Bengálah).† Jahángír not only celebrated his own name in the christening of the city of Jahángírnagar: he also named Akbarnagar (Rájmahall) after his father. So Sháh-Jahán called the new suburb he added to Dehlí in 1648 (1058) Sháhjahánábád, and renamed Agrah Akbarábád. In later times we meet with other eponymous mints, as Murádábád (so named after Murád Bakhsh), Aurangábád and 'Álamgírpúr (after Aurangzíb 'Álamgír)

* ED. vii. 241.

† Cunningham, *Arch. Survey*, xv. 127.

A'zamnagar (after A'zam), Mu'azzamábád (after Mu'azzam, Bahádur's original name), Farrukhábád (after Farrukh-siyar), and 'Azímábád (Patnah, after 'Azím-ash-Shán). In like manner Murshidábád (formerly Makhsúsábád) records the name of Mír Ja'far Khán, the Díwán or revenue officer and afterwards Nawáb Názim or military governor of Bengal (1704-1725), who received the title of Murshid Kuli Khán; while Najíbábád was the capital of the famous Rohila chief Najíb-ad-daulah, of the time of Sháh-'Álam. In still more recent days we meet with such combinations as Abbottábád. Some of these new names for old cities are difficult to identify: *e.g.* 'Álamgírpúr and Zafarpúr, in the time of Aurangzíb; Mu'azzamábád in that of Rafí'-ad-darajáť, and Bahádurpatan in that of Sháh-'Álam. If we are permitted to regard such terms as -púr, -nagar, -garh, -patan, and -ábád, as interchangeable (which is doubtful), 'Alamgírpúr may stand for 'Alamgírnagar in Bengal, Zafarpúr for Zafarábád, in the province of Alláhábád (N.W.P.), or for Zafarnagar near Burhánpúr, and Bahádurpatan for Bahádurgarh, which is frequently mentioned in the wars of the time of Sháh-'Álam. Mu'azzamábád, however, cannot be explained by any such hypothesis; and Nasratábád, in Aurangzíb's reign, may represent any newly conquered city, or may be the modern Násirábád. Dilshádábád, again, "City of heart's content," is a species of pet-name.

Among Sháh-Jahán's mints is one which, even when compared with several other specimens of the time of Aurangzíb, is difficult to decipher, in consequence of the bad preservation of the marginal inscriptions. There can be no doubt, however, that it must be read جونه Júnah, and sometimes more completely [ض]گر جونه Júnáhgarh, (compare Asír and Asírgarh). The extremely rude fabric of all the examples of this mint would be explained

by the remote situation of Júnágarh, a fortress in Káthiáwár, renowned for its formidable strength, but taken by Akbar after three months' siege in 999 (early in 1591) and annexed to the empire.* It is true that Júnágarh is generally spelt with an alif (جونا گڑھ, "Old Fort"), but it may nevertheless have been originally derived from the name Júnah, جونه, which belonged to Muhammad ibn Taghlak, and afterwards have been corrupted to suit the meaning of "Old Fort." Júnágarh was an important stronghold, the chief place in the district of Súrat in Káthiáwár (not to be confounded with the greater Súrat further to the south-east). Sir Thomas Roe† refers to it as the capital of "Soret," and Mandelslo mentions it under the name of "Jangar" as the chief city of that district. It is still a separate native state and has had a Nawáb of its own for the last century and a half. Akbar found here and at the greater Súrat (which he took in 980) some guns and mortars abandoned by the Ottoman Sultán Sulaimán the Great, after his fruitless attack on Diu in 1538. In Sháh-Jahán's reign may be noted an indication of the southward expansion of the empire in the occurrence of of the mint Daulatábád (the ancient Deogír) on coins of 1039 &c., the date of this Emperor's first campaign in the Deccan.

From the reign of Sháh-Jahán onwards a source of confusion is found in the similarity between the names Alláhábád (properly Iláhábád, originally Iláhábás), and Akbarábád (written on the coins الـه اباد and الك اباد), which differ merely in the absence or presence of the small ٥ after the ا which stands for ل in الـه اباد and ك in الك اباد. It is commonly stated that the name of this city, founded by Akbar in 1572, and called by him Iláhábás,

* *Tabakát-i Akbarí*, ED. v. 461, 466.

† *Journal*, Pinkerton, viii. 55.

was changed to Iláhábád by Sháh-Jahán. The latter form, however, as well as Iláhábás, occurs on coins of Akbar himself.

The rival princes Shujá' and Murád Bakhsh divided the empire, before the triumph of Aurangzíb: Shujá's advance from Bengal is marked by his issuing coins at Akbarábád (Agrah); while Murád struck at the old and future capitals of Gujarát, Ahmadábád and Súrat, and also at Cambay. It should be noticed that in this, the earliest, occurrence of the mint Cambay, the name is spelt correctly كهنبايت Khanbáyat or Khanbáit (pronounced Khambáit). It is stated in the *Túzak-i Jahángírí* or "Memoirs of Jahángir" that Khambáit is derived from Khamb, a pillar; whence Khambáwatí and Khambáit.* On later coins the name is spelt كنبايت, without the *h*.

Aurangzíb's coinage exhibits several mints unused by his predecessors, chiefly situated in the Deccan, where, as has been seen, he waged continual war. The chief mint is Aurangábád (also called on coins and in Kháfí Khan's history, Khujistah-bunyád, or "Auspicious Structure,") named after himself, and henceforward the capital of the Moghul power in the Deccan,—a dignity previously enjoyed by Burhánpúr. Other Deccan mints now appearing for the first time are Golkondah, Ahmadnagar, Bíjápúr, Chínápatan (the old name for Madras), and Masulipatan (Machhlipatan). In Hindústán we find as new mints Lucknow, Barailí, Zafarábád, and the un-

* ED. vi. 354. It should be added that no coins are known corresponding to the "gold and silver *tankas*" described in the *Memoirs* as having been struck at Cambay in A.H. 1027, regnal year 12, "ten and twenty times heavier than the current gold mohr and rupee," and with the remarkable legend (on the silver), "After the conquest of the Deccan he came from Mándú to Gujarát." Jahángír claims them as "an invention of my own," and calls them "Jahangírí tankas," adding that all previous tankas were of copper.

identified names already referred to:—Zafarpúr, 'Álamgírpúr, and Nasratábád.

Of the later Emperors and aspirants to the throne, A'zam and Kám Bakhsh struck coins only in the Dekhan, the latter adding Haidarábád to the list of Moghul mints; Bahádur struck at Sholápúr in the Deccan (ceded to Aurangzíb in 1668 by 'Alí 'Ádil Sháh of Bíjápúr), and Ujjain in Málwah; and re-named Patnah 'Azímábád, after his son 'Azím-ash-Shán. In Farrukh-siyar's currency Arkát, A'zamnagar, and Murshidábád appear for the first time; and a diminutive gold coinage, resembling that of southern India, forms a new feature; it issued from Imtiyázgarh ("Distinction-Fort," Aurangzíb's new name for Adoni, which I at first read Imtiyáz Karrah), Gútí, Gangpúr (in Chutiá Nágpúr), and another mint which is illegible. A similar issue, also from Imtiyázgarh, occurs in the coinage of Muhammad Sháh and of 'Álamgír II. Two new mints appear with the name of Rafí'-addaraját: Mu'azzamábád (unidentified) and Kúrá, which is probably not the Kúrá near Sironj, but the city spelt variously كورا and كوره, in the Duáb, and generally written Korah in the maps. Muhammad Sháh repeats the rare mints Kúrá and Imtiyázgarh, and adds Benáres, Akbarnagar-Oudh, Farrukhábád, Siwáï-Jaipúr (founded in his day by Siwái-Jai-Singh), Islámábád (the new name given to Chátgáon, or Chittagong, on its conquest in 1076), Sháhábád (an ancient city in the province of Oudh, with the addition on the coin of the word فتوح), and Ajáyúr, اجايور thus pointed, possibly Ajáyapúr, the old name of Bakror.* Murádábád, though by no means a new creation, first appears in this series on a coin of Ahmad Sháh; and Indrapúr (the old name of Indore*) on the issues of 'Álamgír II. In Sháh-'Álam's

* Cunningham, *Arch. Survey*, i. 13.

time the new mints of Bahádur-patan and Najíbábád (already referred to), Srínagar and Dilshádábád, appear for the first time.

Several of the principal mints are generally, but not invariably, provided with honorific prefixes. Thus Lahore is styled *Dár-as-Saltanah*, "Seat of Empire;" Dehlí, *Dár-al-Khiláfah*, "Seat of the Caliphate;" Bijápúr, *Dár-az-Zafar*, "Seat of Victory;" Ajmír, *Dár-al-Khair*, "Seat of Weal;" Kábul, *Dár-al-Mulk*, "Seat of Royalty;" Agrah, *Mustakarr-al-Khiláfah* "Resting place of the Khalifate;" Multán, *Dár-al-Amán*, "Seat of Safety." A list of these is given on p. cxlvi. Mr. Rodgers* mentions *Bandar-al-Mubárak*, "the Blessed Port," as a prefix of Súrat (so termed because it was the Báb-al-hájj, or starting point of the Indian pilgrimage to Mekka), and *Baldat-al-Fákhirah*, "the Resplendent Town," as a prefix of Burhánpúr: neither of these occurs in the British Museum collection.

Abu-l-Fazl's *Áín-i Akbarí* contains some sections on Akbar's mints and their management, and the simple processes of assaying and coining; and the late Mr. Blochmann's translation reproduces some native drawings of the various operations in use in Akbar's time. The chief officer of the mint was the *dárógah*,† under whom were the *sairafí* or *sarráf* (assayer), the foreman, clerk, bullion-buyer, treasurer, weigher, melter, and plate-maker or flan-cutter (*zarráb*), and *sikkachí* or puncher. The best engraver of dies was 'Alí Ahmad, of Dehlí.‡

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* *Proceedings As. Soc. Bengal*, Jan. 1883.

† Or *darugha*, in Mongol داروغا, *lieutenant* or *governor*. The word occurs on coins of the Ilkhans of Persia: see my *Catalogue of Oriental Coins*, vol. vi. p. lxvi. &c. Sir William Hedges, in 1682-4, speaks of the "droga" of the mint (*Diary*, ed. Yule, i. 129, Hakluyt Society)

‡ *Áín*, transl. H. Blochmann, i. 18-22 (1873).

According to Lieut. Moor,* who wrote in 1794, the method of coining in Bombay was extremely primitive, and doubtless had remained unchanged for centuries: "the metal is brought to the mint in bars the size of the little finger, where are a number of persons seated on the ground provided with scales and weights, a hammer, and an instrument between a chissel and a punch: before each man's birth is fixed a stone by way of anvil. The bars are cut into pieces, by guess, and if, on weighing, any deficiency is found, a little particle is punched into the intended rupee; if too heavy, a piece is cut off, and so on until the exact quantity remains. These pieces are then taken to a second person, whose whole apparatus consists of a hammer and a stone anvil, and he batters them into something of a round shape, about seven eighths of an inch diameter, and one eighth thick; when they are ready for the impression. The die is composed of two pieces, one inserted firmly into the ground; the other, about eight inches long, is held in the right hand of the operator, who, squatting on his heels . . . fills his left hand with the intended coins, which he with inconceivable quickness slips upon the fixed die with his thumb and middle finger, with his fore finger as dexterously removing them when his assistant, a second man with a mall, has given it the impression, which he does as rapidly as he can raise and strike with the mall on the die held in the right hand of the coiner. . . . The rupee is then sent to the Treasury, ready for currency, as no milling or any farther process is considered necessary."

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* *Narrative of the operations of Captain Little's Detachment, etc.*, 499, 500.

IV

ERAS REGNAL YEARS AND PERSIAN MONTHS

THE era exclusively employed by all the Moghul Emperors, with the exception of Akbar, is the Muhammadan Hijrah. Akbar also made use of this reckoning up to the 28th (solar) year of his reign, beginning 11 March, O.S., 1583, A.H. 991,* when he instituted his *Iláhí* or "divine" epoch, composed of solar years, and dating from the vernal equinox of the first year of his reign (1556). The British Museum possesses one rupee of the 28th year of this epoch; and from this time to the end of the reign the Iláhí years were employed to the almost total exclusion of the Muhammadan reckoning. Together with the use of the Iláhí epoch, the custom of recording the month of issue was introduced upon the currency. The months thus employed were those of the ancient Persian Kalendar, consisting of twelve solar months: Farwardín, Ardíbihist, Khúrdád, Tír, Mardád, Shahriwar, Mihr, Abán, Azur, Dai, Bahman and Isfandármiz.

The following table of Akbar's Iláhí years, from the 28th, when the new reckoning was introduced, will be found useful. It is taken from Sir Henry Elliot's table in the *History of India as told by its own Historians*, vol. iv., p. 246.

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* Abu-l-Fazl, in the *Ain*, places the date of inauguration of the Iláhí era at A.H. 992. The discrepancy between this statement and the positive evidence of the rupee no. 177, which bears the regnal year 28, beginning 28 Safar, or March 10, 991, may be reconciled by supposing the change of reckoning to have taken place near the end of the solar year, which would bring it into the new Hijrah year 992, and A.D. 1584.

AKBAR'S ILÁHÍ YEARS

from the 28th to the 50th

WITH THE CORRESPONDING HIJRAH AND CHRISTIAN YEARS

ILÁHÍ	A.H.	A.D.
28 began	991 (28 Safar) ...	1583 (11 March,*o.s.)
29 „	992 (8 Rabí' I.) ...	1584
30 „	993 (19 „) ...	1585
31 „	994 (29 „) ...	1586
32 „	995 (11 „ II.) ...	1587
33 „	996 (22 „) ...	1588
34 „	997 (4 Jumádá I.) ...	1589
35 „	998 (14 „) ...	1590
36 „	999 (24 „) ...	1591
37 „	1000 (5 „ II.) ...	1592
38 „	1001 (17 „) ...	1593
39 „	1002 (28 „) ...	1594
40 „	1003 (9 Rajab) ...	1595
41 „	1004 (20 „) ...	1596
42 „	1005 (2 Sha'bán) ...	1597
43 „	1006 (13 „) ...	1598
44 „	1007 (23 „) ...	1599
45 „	1008 (4 Ramazán) ...	1600
46 „	1009 (15 „) ...	1601
47 „	1010 (26 „) ...	1602
48 „	1011 (6 Shawwál) ...	1603
49 „	1012 (17 „) ...	1604
50 „	1013 (28 „) ...	1605

* Beginning of course at sunset on the 10th, as the Muhammadan day begins at night.

When Jahángír succeeded his father, he abolished the Iláhí era, and reverted to that of the Hijrah, even specifying the word *Hijrí* هجری on some coins. But, whilst reverting to the *lunar* reckoning for the years counted from the Hijrah, or ordinary "date" of his coins, he still employed the *solar* year and Persian months in stating the year of his reign on the coinage, though without any pretence of establishing a new epoch, but simply as our own Acts of Parliament are dated by the Queen's regnal years. This singular juxtaposition of lunar and solar years on the currency has not, I believe, been noticed by numismatists; but the use of the Persian names of months would by itself suggest the employment of a solar reckoning, and the statement of Khafí Khán the historian and the evidence of the coins themselves place the matter beyond a doubt. It will be found that as the lunar years are about ten days shorter than solar, and therefore advance more rapidly, so on the coins the Hijrah years overtake and finally overlap the regnal years. Thus the regnal year 22 appears on the coins in conjunction with the Hijrah years 1036 and 1037, *i.e.* it began in 1036 and ended in 1037; whereas, had the regnal reckoning been lunar, 1036-7 would have corresponded to parts of the regnal year 23 (beginning Ramazán 1036). Besides retaining Akbar's solar reckoning for regnal years, Jahángír preserved the special term *Iláhí* in connexion with the regnal year, using it in the same manner as *julús*—a term which he also occasionally employed. Thus he inscribed his coins with ضرب اکبره ۱ ماه مهر الهی, and also with سنه ۱ جلوس. The custom of recording the *julús* or regnal year was preserved by all succeeding Emperors and pretenders; but the solar years and Persian months were banished from the coinage and the exchequer by Aurangzíb, who was, as has been seen,

a zealous Muhammadan, and thenceforward the lunar reckoning was strictly adhered to, together with the Arabian months, though these are never named on the coins. It should be observed that discrepancies between the Hijrah year and the regnal year are not infrequent. Sometimes this is due to the employment of an old die; sometimes it is caused by the carelessness of the mint-masters. The use of the solar reckoning for the regnal years, and the lunar for the Hijrah date, during Jahángír's and Sháh-Jahán's reigns, when the two were constantly shifting their relative positions, may reasonably have caused some confusion. The Hijrah and regnal dates are always expressed in figures, not words; except the first year of the reign, which is usually written احد, and the year 1000, الف;* and excepting also the Hijrah years on Akbar's copper coins, which are expressed in Persian numerals (نهصد وهشتاد وهفت, &c.).

* On a probable mystical interpretation of this numeral, in connexion with the anticipated end of the world at the thousandth year of the Hijrah, see above, lii.

V

INSCRIPTIONS TITLES WEIGHT &c.

THE earliest coins of the Moghul Emperors naturally followed the design and style, and adopted the broad thin shape, of the coins of the Transoxine Tímúrís from whom Bábar sprang. He and his son Humáyún placed the *Kalimah,* or profession of faith in God and his Prophet in the obverse area, and surrounded it with a marginal inscription containing the names and virtues of the first Four Khalifs. On the reverse were arranged, partly in the margin, partly in the area, the name, surname (*lakab*), and titles of the Emperor, which began with the usual Transoxine style of السلطان الاعظم الخاقان المكرم, "the mightiest Sultán, the honourable Khakán," Zahír-ad-dín Muhammad Bábar, or Abu-l-Muzaffar Muhammad Humáyún, and ended with the most general of all Moghul titles, *Pádisháh Ghází,* "Victorious King," together with the benedictory formula, خلد الله تعالى ملكه وسلطانه, or part of it. Humáyún on one coin introduced the innovation of سيد السلاطين, "Lord of Sultáns," into his title; and on another he used, once only, the Koranic verse يرزق الله من يشاء بغير حساب, "God rewards whom He wills without reckoning" (Kor. ii. 208).

Akbar for a short time followed the example of his predecessors and adopted the Transoxine style of coin, and the same elaborate titles; but already, by the influence of Todar Mal, Arabic was being superseded by Persian in the imperial bureaux and among the engravers of seals and coins;* and by this time Akbar had

* Some of the early Moghul coins evince an imperfect acquaintance with Arabic: as in the frequent confusion of ابو, ابى, and ابا, and the slip يحا ابا بكر, for يحياى ابى بكر; which, however, should be يصدق. The change from Arabic to Persian in the coin inscriptions has necessitated a corresponding change in orthography: *e.g.* the final ة is no longer to be dotted.

realized the wisdom of conforming to the traditional preference of his Indian subjects for thick dumpy coins, instead of the broad thin pieces of the Khalifs and their successors. Accordingly, we see him abandoning the Transoxine forms; first the *Khákán* disappeared, then the *Sultán*, and finally there remained only the title *Pádisháh Ghází*, which continued in vogue to the end of the Moghul empire. The *Kalimah* and Khalifs' names, however, still retained their place in the obverse area and margin, and the benediction, رضی الله عنهم or دل الله بهم, was sometimes appended. At the same time he adopted the thicker form which continued henceforward to be characteristic of the Moghul currency. The coins of Akbar and of his successors, Jahángír and Sháh-Jahán, are splendid specimens of the moneyer's art. They may be compared advantageously in respect of execution and uniformity of standard with any contemporary European money, and far excel any other Oriental coinage. The inscriptions are boldly yet gracefully drawn in the rohání (and sometimes the ta'lík) character, and the borders and other ornaments are simple and artistic. The engraving was entrusted to men of reputation in their art, and the difference in their styles may be detected in the issues of the various mints, where a traditional character of writing evidently prevailed. It is easy to distinguish the issues of Kashmír from those of Lahore at a glance, and similarly those of Lahore from the coinage of Patnah, or from that of Burhánpúr, &c. The differences may be clearly traced in the Plates.

Akbar was troubled with a perpetual restless yearning after innovation, in small matters as well as great; and among the useless changes he devised (besides many exceedingly valuable reforms) was an alteration of the shape of the money. Coins had hitherto been usually round, which was a sufficient reason for their being now

made square. Round coins were obviously the more convenient, but the square shape had the merits of eccentricity and originality, though unfortunately the form was not absolutely novel, seeing that it had already been employed by the kings of Kashmír and Málwah. Akbar first tried the experiment of an oblong coin with scolloped ends (see nos. 50, 51, and compare the lozenge-shaped coin, no. 168), known as *mihrábí*, because it resembled the arch of a prayer-niche; but in 986 he began to strike *square* coins in gold at Fathpúr, his new capital, and in silver at Fathpúr, Lahore, and other mints. The square-shape was not long retained for his gold currency, but in silver it lasted, together with the round, until the end of the reign. After Akbar square coins were seldom used; but Jahángír struck a few, and there are four square mohrs of Sháh-Jahán in the British Museum. On Akbar's square coins the long tail of the ـــــ, &c., in the names or epithets of the Four Khalifs, is turned to account to form a sort of border between the margin and the area, which contains the *Kalimah*; at the same time the reverse margin is abolished, and the simple *Pádisháh Ghází* takes the place of the longer titles of the earlier coins.

Akbar's *Iláhí coinage*, begun in A.H. 992, is both round and square in silver (generally square up to the 40th year of the reign, 1003), but only round in gold. The inscriptions indicate the religious changes of the time. The Muhammadan profession of faith and the Four Khalifs and their virtues have vanished, and in their place appears the new Iláhí formula, الله اكبر جل جلاله, "God is most great: glorified be his glory." This formula either occupies the whole of the obverse, leaving the reverse for the Persian month and Iláhí year; or الله اكبر appears on the obverse, and جل جلاله and the Iláhí year on the reverse. The Emperor's name does

not appear upon the Iláhí currency; but it has been pointed out that الله اکبر not only means "God is most great," but also may be interpreted "Akbar is God;" and the suggestion has been made that the Emperor played upon the double meaning. If he did so, the levity was wholly out of keeping with his character and conduct in all other respects. This coinage endured till the end of the reign, but was never imitated by Akbar's successors.*

With Jahangír's coinage (after the rupees, nos. 288-9, which appear to have been struck during his governorship of Gujarát, and on which he is styled *Salím Sháh Sultán* and *Málik-al-Mulk*), a new phase in inscriptions begins. The Iláhí formula is abandoned, and the Muhammadan *Kalimah* rarely appears;† and their place is filled by a doggrel Persian rhyme which is dignified by the name of *distich* or couplet (in Arabic *bait*). The use of *Persian distichs* was begun on a coin of the time of Akbar,‡ but Jahángír employed them on the majority of his coins, and the Court poets were busily engaged in manipulating suitable verses. A list of these jingles is given at p. cxlvii ff. Their meaning is generally nothing more than a euphuistic mode of expressing the fact that the Emperor caused the coin to be struck; the radiance of the sun and the gold, or the

* A curious little group of coins is described on pp. 47, 48 of the *Catalogue*, as of "Gujarát Fabric." They have all the appearance of the later Kachh coins, and some present the name of Akbar with the date 1215—in this respect also agreeing with the Gujarát habit of imitating old coins and inserting modern dates. See *Catalogue of Indian Coins, Muhammadan States*, lx.

† In the British Museum Collection it occurs only on a single mohr and ten rupees of the first two or three years of the reign.

‡ Mr. Rodgers, who describes dated specimens of this piece (Iláhí 44, 45), remarks that it is said to have been issued by Prince Salím (Jahángír) when in rebellion against his father Akbar; but does not cite his authority for the statement (*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, lvii, 1888).

moon and the silver, supplying felicitous references to the glory of his Majesty's epoch. The florid inflation of the distichs, however, finds no counterpart in the enumeration of the Emperor's titles: *Pádisháh Ghází* is all he styles himself, and often plain *Sháh* suffices. When he joins his queen's name on the coins, she is described as *Núr-Jahán Pádisháh Bégam*.

Indeed the *titles* assumed by the Moghul Emperors from Jahángír onwards are singularly devoid of oriental bombast. They seldom used their proper name (as Salím, Khurram),* but employed the name assumed on (or before) coming to the throne, as Jahángír, Sháh-Jahán, together with the orthodox name Muhammad. To this they added their lakab or surname, as Núr-ad-dín, Shiháb-ad-dín; and sometimes a patronymic, as Abu-l-Muzaffar, Abu-l-Fath. Finally came the sovereign title, *Pádisháh Ghází*, used by all the Emperors, except Farrukh-siyar, who preferred to style himself پادشاه بحر و بر, "Monarch of sea and land," and Rafí'-ad-daraját, who claimed to be شهنشاه بحر و بر "Sháh of Sháhs of sea and land." Sháh-Jahán added a horoscopic title, *Sáhib Kirán Sání*, "Second Lord of [auspicious] Conjunction"—his ancestor Tímúr being the first; and the same style was adopted by Shujá' and Muhammad. Murád Bakhsh, who had the patronymic Abu-l-Muzaffar, and the unique lakab *Muzawwaj-ad-dín*, "Wedded to the Faith," (?) assumed the title of سکندر ثانی, "The Second Alexander." Aurangzíb was given to ostentatious humility, and beyond his throne-name 'Álamgír,

* Sháh-Jahán's first Lahore rupee is an exception to this rule: here he is styled Abu-l-Muzaffar Násir-ad-dín Muhammad Sháh-Jahán Khurram, though afterwards his lakab is always Shiháb-ad-dín, and his proper name, Khurram, never recurs. This coin may have been struck on the occasion of his first proclamation as Emperor, which took place at Lahore, 2 Jumádá I., 1037; and the style may have been altered when he ascended the throne at Agrah a fortnight later.

generally called himself plain *Sháh*, rarely *Pádisháh* or *Pádisháh Ghází*, and only twice or thrice engraved his lakab, &c., in the form Muhayyí-ad-dín Muhammad Bahádur. A'zam Sháh had a title of his own, *Pádisháh Mamálik*, "King of Realms." Jahándár was *Padisháh Jahán* and *Sáhib Kirán*. Niku-siyar was *Pádisháhi zamán Sháh bi-lutfi-lláh Muhammad*, "Monarch of the Age, King by the grace of God." Ahmad used the epithet *Bahádur*, and 'Álamgír II. was styled Abu-l-'Adl 'Azíz-ad-dín, "Father of justice, Honoured of the Faith;" while Sháh-'Álam invented a new formula, including the title حامی دین اله محمد شاه عالم پادشاه "Defender of the divine Faith," &c.

One of Jahangír's inscriptions contains an anagram: زرور ازل درعدد شد برابر حروف جهانگیر والله اکبر :—

"The letters of *Jahángír* and *Alláhu Akbar*
Are equal in value from the beginning of time."

This is explained by the fact that the letters ج (3), ه (5), ا (1), ن (50), ك (20), ی (10), and ر (200), of جهانگیر, and those of الله اکبر, ا (1), ل ل (30, 30), ه (5), ا (1), ك (20), ب (2), ر (200), when added together, respectively make up the sum of 289.

The general arrangement of the inscriptions after Jahángír is very regular. Persian distichs become rare, and the *Kalimah*, with the mint and month,* occupies the obverse, and the imperial titles the reverse of Sháh-Jahán's money, sometimes entirely in the area, sometimes divided between area and margin; while the Hijrah date and regnal year are variously distributed between the obverse and reverse: on some coins the Four Khalifs and their virtues, followed by the mint, surround the *Kalimah*. The inscriptions on the *Nisárs* (see § 7) are more elementary. The usurpers Murád and Shujá' imitated Sháh-Jahán's arrange-

* The names of months rarely occur after A.H. 1041.

ment. Aurangzíb, however, introduced a new style, and in spite of his orthodoxy, abolished the profession of faith. The reason was, however, a proof of reverence; for he was afraid lest the sacred words should pass with the coins into "unworthy places and fall under the feet of infidels."* The obverse contains the mint and the formula سنه . . . جلوس میمنت مانوس "In the year . . . of his reign of tranquil prosperity," while the reverse has the Emperor's simple titles or else the Persian distich,

سکه زد در جهان چو مهر منیر
شاه اورنگ‌زیب عالمگیر

which has been rendered:†

Through all the world he struck his sun-like coin of golden ore,
Sháh Aurangzíb (throne-ornament) of earth the conqueror.

Marginal inscriptions were abolished (save on a few examples), and never reappear in the series.

The *julús* formula سنه جلوس میمنت مانوس and the mint continue to occupy the obverse to the end of the series. The reverse inscription of all the succeeding Emperors from Bahádur to Muhammad Akbar II. consists of the name and titles of the sovereign, preceded by the word سکه, or سکه مبارك, "Auspicious money;" except in the case of Jahándár, Farrukh-siyar, and Raff'-ad-daraját, and some of Sháh-'Álam's coins, when Persian formulas were again employed. One Emperor alone, the devout 'Álamgír II., restored for a single year the Muhammadan *Kalimah* and the Four Khalifs with their virtues, which had been in disuse since Sháh-Jahán's reign.

The *names of the coins* of the Moghul Emperors appear

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* Khafi Khán, ED. vii. 241.

† R. S. Poole, *Cat. Coins of the Shahs of Persia*, lxxxiv.

to have been numerous, if Abu-l-Fazl's account * of Akbar's coinage may be taken as typical of the whole series. The general term for a gold coin is *mohr*, commonly called mohur (a "seal" or "impression"); for a silver coin, *rupee* (or more accurately *rupíh*), and for the copper coin *dám*. But in Akbar's time the different varieties and subdivisions had separate names. Abu-l-Fazl's list of these names ought to be of great value to the numismatist, but, in fact, it forms but another instance of the incapacity of oriental (and for that matter most European) historians to describe accurately or systematically the coins which passed under their own eyes. Al-Makrízí's well-known treatise is a case in point. It is the best account we have of Arabic numismatics by an Arabic writer, but it is far from being what it might easily have been made, had the author made an adequate study of his subject. Abu-l-Fazl gives a long list of names, without supplying the necessary means of identifying the coins to which they belong. Many of the types he describes do not appear to have been preserved in any collection, whilst many existing coins are not described. His list may be conveniently arranged as follows. All are round coins, unless otherwise described.

Akbar's Coinage.

Gold.

Sihansah, or 100 *mohr piece*. (Maksúd's work.)

Obv. Kalimah. Margin, الله يرزق من يشاء بغير حساب (Kor. ii. 208).

Rev. Margin, السلطان الاعظم الخاقان المعظم خلد الله ملكه وسلطانه

* *Ain-i Akbarí*, Blochmann's trans., i. 31 ff. Compare E. Thomas, *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, 418 ff.

100 *mohr piece* (improved by 'Alí Ahmad).

Obv. افضل دينار ينفق الرجل دينار ينفق على اصحاب فى سبيل الله

Rev. السلطان العالى الخليفة المتعالى خلد الله تعالى ملكه وسلطانه وابد عدله واحسانه

A third variety was engraved with two Persian rubá'ís of Fáizí.

Rahas, or 50 *mohr piece*, was inscribed with a rubá'í of Fáizí.

Átmah, both round and square, had also a rubá'í.

Binsat, or 20 mohr piece, both round and square.

Chugal, or *double mohr*, square.

Round La'l-i Jaláli, or double mohr in weight and value; inscr. الله اكبر, and يا معين.

Of *single mohrs* there were eight:—

(1) Round:

Aftábí, worth 12 rupees: } obv. الله اكبر جل جلاله;
Iláhi, worth 10 rupees: } rev. mint and date.

'Adlgutkah, worth 9 rupees: الله اكبر, and يا معين.

Mohr, worth 9 rupees: with *Kalimah*.

(2) Square:

Square La'l-i Jaláli, worth 10 rupees: obv. الله اكبر; rev. جل جلاله.

Mu'íní, worth 10 rupees: inscr. يا معين; also *round*, worth 9 rupees.

(3) [Other shapes, not so stated]:

Mihrábí, worth 9 rupees.

Chahárgóshah, worth 12 rupees (Thomas says 30).

Of *half-mohrs*, three:—

Gird = ½ Iláhí, same inscriptions.

Dhan = ½ La'l-i Jaláli.

Salímí = ½ 'Adlgutkah.

Of *quarter-mohrs*, three:—

$\frac{1}{2}$ *Salímí.*

Rabí' = $\frac{1}{4}$ Aftábí.

Man = $\frac{1}{4}$ Iláhí and Jalálí.

Of other fractions:—

Panj = $\frac{1}{5}$ Iláhí.

Pandan = $\frac{1}{5}$ La'l-i Jalálí: lily and wild rose on two sides

Sumní = $\frac{1}{8}$ Iláhí: obv. الله اكبر; rev. جل جلاله.

Kalá = $\frac{1}{16}$ Iláhí: wild rose on both sides.

Zarah = $\frac{1}{32}$ Ilahi:

SILVER.

Rupee, round } worth 40 dáms: obv. الله اكبر جل
Jalálah, square } جلاله; rev. date.

Darb = $\frac{1}{2}$ Jalálah.

Charn = $\frac{1}{4}$,,

Pandú = $\frac{1}{5}$,,

Asht = $\frac{1}{8}$,,

Dasá = $\frac{1}{10}$,,

Kalá = $\frac{1}{16}$,,

Súkí = $\frac{1}{20}$,,

COPPER.

Dám, originally called *Paisah* or *Bahlólí*: obv. mint; rev. date.

Adhélah = $\frac{1}{2}$ dám

Páulah = $\frac{1}{4}$,,

Damrí = $\frac{1}{8}$,,

Abu-l-Fazl adds that *mohrs*, *rupees*, and *dáms* form the usual commercial currency. He also mentions that in the 27th year of Akbar's reign four kinds of mohr were allowed to be current, viz. the *La'l-i Jaláhí*, which was quite pure, and worth 400 dáms; the *mohr* (360 dáms); the mohr reduced by wear (355 dáms), and the mohr much rubbed (350 dáms); also three kinds of *rupees*, viz. square, pure silver, worth 40 dáms; the old round *Akbarsháhí* (39 dáms), and worn specimens of both (38 dáms). These regulations for passing worn coin

were modified in the 29th and 36th years of the reign.

It is clear that Abu-l-Fazl is writing of Akbar's later coinage, after the introduction of the *Iláhí* issues, and that he does not concern himself much with the earlier coins, which he refers to under the name of "the old round *Akbarsháhí*." In silver, he only mentions *Iláhí rupees* and *jalálahs*, though he refers to the older *Kalimah* coins in gold as *mohrs*. He is obviously wrong in attributing an issue of *La'l-i Jalálís* to the 27th year of the reign, for it was not till the 28th year that the Iláhí era and the formula *Jalla Jaláluhu* were introduced. Of Akbar's large coins (100, 50, 20, and 2 mohr pieces) not one is known in modern collections; but a five mohr piece is preserved in the British Museum (no. 23), which is not mentioned in Abu-l-Fazl's list. A few of the single mohrs may be identified. Nos. 50 and 51 are undoubtedly *Mihrábís* from their shape, resembling the arch of a niche for prayer, and the lozenge-shaped coin no. 168 may be a variety of this species. The *Chahár góshah*, or "four-cornered," sounds very like the same thing. No coin of Akbar in the Museum bears the inscription يا معين (O Protector)*; but it appears on some of Jahángír's issues. Of the Iláhí gold, no. 165 is an *Aftábí*, and 164 a *Rabí'* or quarter-Aftábí; but no. 163 has the inscriptions of the square *La'l-i Jalálí*, only it is round, It seems probable that Abu-l-Fazl, whilst describing a round *La'l-i Jalálí*, equal to two mohrs, omitted to mention that there was also a round *La'l-i Jalálí single mohr*. He also entirely ignores the singular square issue of Fathpúr in 986, etc., and of Urdu-Zafar-Karín of 1000, though these have the peculiarities of a square form, and a heavier weight than the rest. The difference of value seems to have depended upon the purity, and

* One is described by Mr. Delmerick, with no mint, but year 981, in *J.A.S.B.* xlv.

not upon the weight, and this cannot be tested without injuring the coins. Of the silver pieces mentioned by Abu-l-Fazl, it is easy to recognize the *Rupee* in (*e.g.*) no. 177, and the square *Jaláláh* in 179 and 185, etc.; the *Darb* in 184, the *Charn* in 188, the *Asht* in 202, etc.; Of the copper, the *Dáms* and *half Dáms* (*Adhélahs*), are called *fulús* on their inscriptions, and *tankahs* and double tankahs occur.*

In Jahángír's *Memoirs* † some names of his coins are recorded, but they only refer to phenomenal pieces. The *Núr-i Sháhí* was equal to 2000 tolahs, the *Núr-i Jahán* to 1000, the *Núr-i daulat* to 500, the *Núr-mohr* to 100. The *tolah* was substituted for the gold rupee (i.e. mohr). There were corresponding pieces in silver. The tolah was probably the heavier coin issued by Jahángír in the first five years of his reign.

The *weight* of the Moghul coinage, allowing for wear, is strikingly exact and uniform, as soon as the uncertainty of the earliest issues is passed. There are no gold coins of Bábar in the British Museum, but his silver pieces weighed from 69 to 73 grs., and were doubtless intended for dirhams of the Tímúrí standard, not rupees. Humáyún struck small gold pieces of 13 to 16 grs. and 8 grs. ($\frac{1}{4}$ and $\frac{1}{8}$ of dínár), and silver of 37, 47, 68, 71, 72, 73, 110, 112, 113, and 180 grs., in which we may perhaps trace a transition from the Transoxine dirham to the full rupee weight of 180 grs. Akbar, with his habitual comprehension of the exigencies of the time, began at once with an Indian standard, and his weights of 170 grs. for the gold mohr, and 180 for the silver rupee, continued to be the accepted model, with few exceptions, throughout the rule of his dynasty. His *gold* coins (in the British Museum series) vary in weight from 166 to

* See below, § viii. † Transl. Major D. Price, p. 11.

169, and only a few worn coins drop to 164, 162, and one to 157. The square issue of Fathpúr and Lahore 986—8, and Urdú-Zafar-Karín rise to a different standard of 186 to 187 grs., with sub-divisions of 93 and 46: but the object of this alteration is not known, nor is it referred to by the historians. In 992, the new *Ilahí* issue was introduced, with the weight at first of 187, and later of 168 (for 170). A few early gold coins weigh only 18 and 9 grs., like Humáyún's, and two of A.H. 988 weigh 15 grs. The *silver* coinage was clearly intended to weigh 180 grs., though most of the existing specimens are reduced a few grains by wear. The half rupee weighs from 86 to 89 grs.; the quarter from 42 to 44; and the eighth, from 19 to 21. Jahángír for the first five years of his reign, up to A.H. 1019, used a weight of 202, rising finally to 211 grs., for his gold coins, and 212, rising to 220, for his rupees (and 105-106 for the half-rupee): but after 1019, except in the case of four coins of Kandahár and Kashmír, he reverted to Akbar's standard, and his mohr weighs about 168, and his quarter-mohr 42, while his rupee weighs about 176 grs., and the half-rupee, 89. One five-mohr piece of his is preserved, weighing 843 grs., which gives 168$\frac{3}{5}$ to the mohr. Sháh-Jahán, Aurangzíb, Bahádur, Muhammad, etc., follow the same standard; but a few of Farrukh-siyar's rupees, struck at Katak and Jahángírnagar, rise as high as 187 grs.

A curious variety of gold coin was issued by Farrukh-siyar, Muhammad, and 'Álamgír II., in addition to their ordinary *mohrs*. The coins of this type are very small, with a diameter of ·4 to ·5in. for the larger, weighing 51 to 53 grs., and of ·3 or ·35 for the smaller, weighing 22 grs. In the character of the engraving they resemble other small issues of Southern India, and two of their mints are in the Deccan, Imtiyáz-garh and Gútí. The former

has always been read Karrah, کڑہ, the city in the Duáb, and the word beneath it has been interpreted as referring to the coin : "decoration of Karrah." There can be no doubt, however, that the two form a compound name Imtiyáz-garh, امتیاز گڑہ, "Distinction Fort," or "Fort *par excellence*," which, according to Mr. C. J. Rodgers, was a name given by Aurangzíb to Adwání, the Adóní of the maps, a little north of Gútí. The close similarity of its style would lead one to look for the third mint, Gangpúr, in the same neighbourhood : but the district of Gangpúr is in Chutiá Nágpúr. Possibly it has some traditional connexion with the old Ganga dynasty of Talkad in Mysore; or it may relate to one of the sacred rivers of Southern India. Of its Deccan fabric there can be no doubt.

VI

IMAGES AND ZODIACAL SIGNS

THE Moghul Emperors, with the exception of Aurangzíb 'Álamgír and his name-sake 'Álamgír II., were far from strict in their observance of the laws of the Korán. As has been seen, they were commonly addicted to the use of intoxicating liquors; they married unbelieving wives, instead of making them merely concubine slaves in accordance with the orthodox custom of Islám, and their encouragement of the fine arts was free from the trammels of Koranic Puritanism. They were fond of pictures and sculpture, and paid no regard to the divine ordinance which prohibited the representation of living beings in art. They even delighted to adorn their palaces with paintings and statues portraying scenes which belong to the sacred traditions of Christianity, and images of the Blessed Virgin and portraits of St. John Baptist contributed to the decoration of their Court. The same disregard of orthodox prejudices may be occasionally observed on their coinage. So long, indeed, as the Muslim profession of faith occupied its rightful place on Akbar's coins, no profane image desecrated the formula: but after the Emperor had discovered the errors of Islám and had founded his own "Divine Religion," the objection to the representation of living things on the coins was no longer in force. Yet Akbar used images very sparingly. A falcon is depicted on the first and only coin of Asír, possibly in allusion to the conquering swoop of the besieging army. A duck appears on a coin of Agrah. Another gold coin, without the name of the mint, bears a curious representation of a crowned archer, with stretched bow and sheaf of arrows, followed by a

woman, who draws back her long veil from her face. This may refer to the submission (in A.H. 1013, the date of this coin) of the King of Bíjápúr, which was accompanied by the gift of his daughter to be the bride of Prince Dániyál, Akbar's son.

Jahángír's use of images on the coinage was much more marked than his father's. In the sixth year of his reign (1020) he ventured upon the daring innovation of engraving his own portrait on some of his gold coins. He is represented in bust with head turned to the left, and face wearing only a moustache; the shoulders are covered by a brocaded dress, and a turban adorned with the imperial *jikkah* or egret is on his head; his hand holds sometimes a book, sometimes fruit; and sometimes he holds a book in one hand and a goblet in the other. If, as is probable, the book is intended for the Korán, its combination with a wine-cup must have been regarded by orthodox Muslims as an outrage. In the following year (1021), and in 1023, Jahángír placed on some of his gold pieces his royal person seated cross-legged on a throne, with the inseparable goblet raised in his right hand, and with an aureole or nimbus round his head, which he probably derived from some Christian paintings, but which wears a singularly incongruous air in conjunction with the wine-cup and the Emperor's bacchanalian pose. On the reverse of most of these portrait coins is a lion surmounted by the sun, apparently setting behind it, or, in astrological language *Sol in constellatione Leonis*, the sun entering the sign Leo; but on some coins the sun appears without the lion. The presence of the sun has been explained as a reference to the fact that Jahángír was born on a Sunday; but it is more probable that the sun's image appears in virtue of the tendency towards solar worship which undoubtedly found encouragement under Akbar, and was never positively

repudiated by his successor. It is possible that the choice of the zodiacal sign Leo may be connected with the month (rather than the day) of the Emperor's birth, which was surrounded by mysterious omens and spiritual agencies, if we are to believe the historians.

It is not probable that these "bacchanalian coins," as they have been called, were intended for general circulation. They would have caused deep umbrage to any orthodox Sunnís into whose hands they fell, and even Shíya'ís, with all their freedom from traditional prejudice, would hardly have relished these vinous representations. The portrait-coins were doubtless in the nature of medals or presentation pieces, rather than money for circulation. The ordinary coinage without images continued to be struck simultaneously with the "bacchanalian" issues.

On the other hand, the well-known *zodiacal* coins of Jahángír were certainly intended to pass as ordinary money, and generally took the place of the common coinage of the Agra mint during the eight years of their issue (1027-34). Tavernier, who visited the court of Aurangzíb in the middle of the seventeenth century, was the first to report the pretty legend that Núr-Jahán, the Emperor's gifted wife, begged her adoring husband to allow her twenty-four hours of supreme sovereignty, and, on obtaining his consent, immediately issued the celebrated zodiacal coins, having previously had the necessary bullion collected and the dies engraved with her own name and that of the Emperor. The story is refuted by the zodiacal coins themselves: they do not, as a rule, bear Núr-Jahán's name; and instead of being all of one date, and issued within twenty-four hours, they are spread over eight years.* Jahángír's own account of the origin

* Two zodiacal mohrs (not in the British Museum) present the name of Núr-Jahán as well as that of Jahángír, and bear the latest

of these pieces is doubtless correct and authentic. He says in his *Memoirs*,* "Formerly it was customary to strike my name on one side of the coin, and that of the place, and the month, and the year of the reign, on the obverse. It now occurred to my mind that, instead of the name of the month, the figure of the sign of the zodiac corresponding to the particular month, should be stamped. For instance, in the month of Farwardín, the figure of a ram, in Ardibihist that of a bull, and so on; that is, in every month in which a coin might be struck, the figure of the constellation in which the sun might be at the time, should be impressed on one side of it. This was my own innovation: it had never been done before."

The British Museum possesses an unrivalled series of these zodiacal issues.† It includes a complete set of all the zodiacal signs in genuine mohrs, with several varieties of each sign, in all forty-three specimens; seven signs (fourteen coins) of the silver zodiacal rupees, in which a complete set of the signs is not known to exist; ten gold and one silver specimen of mediæval forgeries, and a complete series of the signs in modern imitation half-rupees. Some of the signs are rarer than others, and Aquarius is especially rare in both metals. The figures of the various signs, combined with the solar rays, as a rule agree with their traditional representation. The ram, humped bull, embracing twins, crab, lion, scales, scorpion, centaur, capricorn, and two fish present no special peculiarities. But Virgo appears in three different forms on the genuine mohrs; first as the

known date, 1034. One of these, of the sign Cancer, and mint Ajmír, was described by Mr. Gibbs in *Proceedings of the As. Soc. of Bengal*, 1883. The other, in the Bibliothèque Nationale, is engraved in Bonneville, and mentioned by Marsden, *Num. Orient.* 630.

* *Túzak-i Jahángírí*, ED. vi. 357.

† It does not, however, possess any of the earliest year, 1027, nor of the latest, 1034.

traditional standing winged figure with ear of corn; secondly, as a squatting woman with a braid of hair down her back,—a typical Indian figure; and thirdly, as a woman with a pitcher on her head, who might be described as a female Aquarius; and a fourth form, of a dancing girl, appears on one of the forged mohrs. Aquarius is represented as an old man with a pitcher of water, or by the pitcher alone.

The zodiacal coins, both gold and silver, have always attracted much attention and emulation among collectors. The Hindús after a time came to regard them as talismans, to be worn prophylactically round the neck,* and English ladies have not despised them as ornaments. They have consequently been extensively forged, and few collections exist which do not contain some of these imitations. A distinction, however, must be drawn between different classes of these forgeries. There is (1) a small class of gold zodiacal mohrs which are clearly ancient, and in spite of their rude workmanship and the peculiar forms of the zodiacal signs, may not be forgeries at all, but merely trial-pieces of Jahángír's time: such are nos. 333*c*, 339, and 346*a*, all of the year 1030 and 16th of the reign, which are represented in the lowest line of Plate X. On the whole, I believe them to be almost contemporary imitations. Then (2) there are more recent forgeries, distinguished by a certain crudeness and sharpness in the drawing and execution of the figures, and a tendency to blunder in the Persian inscriptions; these are numbered, in the gold, 376 to 384 in the Catalogue; and there is but one silver forgery of

* Marsden states that his zodiacal coins came from Mr. Crow, formerly chief of the Súrat factory of the East India Company; and adds that the Hindús treated them as talismans. Lieut. Edward Moor (*Narrative of the operations of Captain Little's Detachment*, 490) mentions the sale of a set of zodiacal mohrs at Bombay in 1790 for the sum of 2500 rupees.

this class, the rupee no. 385. In the representation of Virgo, the forgeries show, besides the usual type (as the true coin 338, and the forgery 378), a curious figure of a dancing woman, which does not occur on any genuine mohr at present known. Finally (3), there is a class of modern half-rupees which, unlike the first two classes, can never have been intended to pass as counterfeit money, but must have been either an avowedly new currency, or else intended merely as ornaments. They are struck from the same dies as the imitation gold mohrs, or from dies closely resembling them; and thus bearing inscriptions peculiar to mohrs, and not borne by rupees, would have been immediately detected. They were probably struck to please somebody's fancy, and tradition ascribes them to a Frenchman, Colonel Martine, well known in the history of the Company's power in India; but Marsden denies this, on the authority of the Colonel's personal friends.

In spite of general indications in the style and fabric, there is often considerable difficulty in distinguishing the imitation from the genuine mohrs, and numismatists are frequently found to differ in their decisions. In distinguishing the British Museum forgeries, the late Mr. James Gibbs' experience has proved of value.*

* See *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, xiv. 155-160, and *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1883.

VII

NISÁRS OR PRESENTATION MONEY

Among the coins of the Moghul Emperors, from Jahángír onwards, certain pieces, generally of small size, bear the word *nisár* (نثار), which means "scattering." These coins were struck for the purpose of distribution among the crowd on the occasion of certain festivities, such as marriages, or progresses of state, and the like. They were in fact a species of Maundy Money. The custom is common in Eastern countries and survives to the present day. The Moghul coins struck for this purpose (except Aurangzíb's) are economically thin for their diameter, and weigh from 43 to 44 grains (*i.e.* ¼ mohr or rupee); but one weighs 88 grains, and another 22. They are executed with considerable elegance, and have a border of dots. Aurangzíb's, on the other hand, are clumsy and thick, of South Indian fabric, and weigh 44 grains. The British Museum contains no specimen of Jahángír's *nisárs*, but Mr. Rodgers has described three, of Ajmír in the 10th year of the reign, Ahmadábád in the 13th, and Agrah in the 14th year; and also two of Sháh-Jahán, of Kashmír and Lahore; and adds that he has never seen any others.* The British Museum, however, has ten of these coins, viz:—

Sháh-Jahán.	Æ Agrah, 1038, Y.R. 2. (♃)
	Æ Lahore, 1044, Y.R. 7. (♃)
	Æ Lahore, 1049, Y.R. 13. (♃)
	Æ Sháhjahánábád, 1060, Y.R. 24. (♃)
	Æ Kashmír, 1061, Y.R. 25.
	Æ Sháhjahánábád, 1067, Y.R. 31. (♃)
(posthumous)	Æ Sháhjahánábád, 1069. No regnal year (♃)

* *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1883.

Aurangzíb.	Ⱥ Chínápatan, 1103, Y.R. 35.
	Ⱥ Chínápatan, 1111, Y.R. 4*x*.
Jahándár.	Ⱥ Sháhjahánábad, 1124. (ʒ)
'Álamgír II.	Ⱥ Akbarábád, 1171, Y.R. 4.

All Sháh-Jahán's *nisárs* save one (where it may be obliterated) have an initial letter ʒ over the ,. The same sign (or its points) appears on Jahándár's *nisár*, but not on those of Aurangzíb or 'Álamgír II. This abbreviation has not hitherto been noticed, and its meaning is enigmatical. As it occurs on coins of four different mints, and two different weights (44 and 88 grs.) it can neither be a mint-mark nor a sign of denomination.

Nisárs were used for other purposes than scattering among crowds. The word is also used as signifying the periodical tribute or gift, symbolical of homage, rendered to the Moghul Emperor on certain festivals, such as the anniversary of his coronation, or New Year's day. Mr. Delmerick says* that "coins used to be specially struck in his [Bahádur II.'s] name and offered as part of the customary *nazar* by the Resident on behalf of the British Government," until the practice was abolished by Lord Ellenborough "in the cold season of 1842-3." I have no doubt that the coins used for this purpose were the *thin* pieces issued in the name of Sháh-'Álam, of Muhammad Akbar, and of Bahádur II., at Sháhjahánábád, the residence of the titular Emperors under British protection. They are numbered in the *Catalogue* nos. 1104-9, 1210-16, 1221-2, and in style they closely resemble the thin half-rupee *nisár* of Sháh-Jahán, no. 669, which is 1·15 in. broad, yet weighs only 88 grs. They are not in the least like current coins meant for circulation, but they are unmistakeably like *nisárs*, though the name does not occur in their inscriptions.

* *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, xlv. 295.

In connexion with occasional coins of this kind, mention should be made of certain abnormally large and heavy pieces, two of which, though not the largest, are found in the British Museum series. These are both five-mohr pieces, issued by Akbar at Agrah in A.H. 971 and by Jahángír at Agrah in 1028, and weigh respectively 838 and 843 grains. There are also preserved in the British Museum two casts of a gigantic 200-mohr piece of Sháh-Jahán, $5\frac{3}{8}$ in. in diameter, with mint Sháh-jahán-ábád, and date 1064, regnal year 28. It is represented in the *Catalogue* pl. xxxiii. The inscriptions are as follows:—

Obv. Area, within square,

لا اله الا الله
محمد
رسول الله ۱۰۶۴
ضرب
دار الخلافه شاه جهان‌اباد

Margin, in segments,

شد ایمان از صدق ابی بکر انور
شد از عدل عمر اسلام قوی دست
از شرم وحیای عثمان دین تازه شد
وزعلم علی ولایت زیور یافت

Rev. Area, within square,

۲۸
پادشاه غازی
قران ثانی شاه جهان
ضرب
شهاب الدین محمد صا

Margin, in segments,

سکه بر مهر دو صد مهری زد از لطف اله
ثانی صاحب قران شاه جهان دین پناه
روی زر بادا ز نقش سکه اش عالم فروز
تا شود از پرتو خورشید روشن روی ماه

A drawing of a similar 200-mohr piece, of the same mint and date, but with the inscriptions slightly varied in arrangement, and ولایت انور در علم علی یافت instead of روز علم علی ولایت زیور یافت, was exhibited by Mr. J. Gibbs at a meeting of the Bengal Asiatic Society, and is engraved in the *Proceedings* of January, 1883. General Sir A. Cunningham states that the original coin was at Patnah some fifty to eighty years ago. According to Richardson, it weighed above 70 oz. (33,600 grs.), and had a diameter of 4 inches.*

Mr. Gibbs also published a photograph of a 100-mohr piece of Aurangzíb, struck at Sháhjahánábád, A.H. 1083, Y.R. 15, diameter 4 in., thickness ¼ in., weight 35 oz. 4 dwt., or 16,880 grs., belonging to the Mahárájá Sindhia.† One like it was at Benáres 45 years ago, according to Sir A. Cunningham. A *silver* coin of Aurangzíb's at Dresden, issued at Sháhjahánábád in the tenth year of his reign, has a diameter of 4·4 in., and a weight of 5·15 English lbs.‡

General Cunningham is of opinion that these large pieces were probably "Nazzarnána medals," given to the Emperor by nobles who paid their tribute in a single lump coin.§ That such large pieces were not infrequently struck is shown by the inventory of Jahángír's treasure given by William Hawkins, in which we find these items: "Of another sort of Coyne, of a thousand rupias [*i.e.* 100 mohrs] a piece, there are twenty thousand pieces. Of another sort, of halfe the value, there are ten thousand pieces. Of another sort of Gold, of twenty Tolas a piece, there are thirty thousand pieces. Of

* It is referred to by Tavernier, and described by Richardson, *Persian, Arabic, and English Dictionary*, art. سکہ (ed. 1777); see Marsden, *Num. Orient.* 641; Thomas, *Chronicles*, 423.

† *Proceedings Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, March, 1885.

‡ Thomas, *l.c.*

§ *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1883.

another sort of five Tolas, which is this King's stamp, of these there be fiftie thousand pieces." There were also, in silver, "of another sort of coin of Selim Sha this King, of an hundred Tolas a piece, forty thousand pieces,"* &c. Aurangzib, as he grew old, displayed a notable talent for hoarding money. According to the Venetian physician Manouchi, he devised peculiar safeguards for his treasure. "He caused to be constructed under his palace at Dely two deep caves, supported by vast marble pillars. Piles of gold were stored in the one, and of silver in the other; and to render more difficult any attempt to convey away his treasure, he caused, of both metals, pieces to be made of so prodigious a size as to render them useless for the purpose of commerce," meaning currency.† Such, no doubt, are the pieces belonging to the Mahárájá Sindhia and the Dresden Cabinet. Doubtless, the reason that so few of these unwieldy coins have come down to us is that they were melted down into the current coin of commerce.

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* *The Hawkins Voyages* (Hakluyt Society), 421-2.

† See Appendix iv. to *Bernier's Travels*, edited by Arch. Constable (*Oriental Miscellany*), 476.

VIII

COPPER COINAGE

THE rarest of all Moghul coins are those of copper The British Museum possesses seventeen specimens of the early local issues of the time of Bábar and Humáyún, thirty-nine copper coins of Akbar, and one of Jahángír; but none of any other Emperor. The reason for this singular scarcity of copper is the general use of other substances for petty currency in India. Cowries formed the chief small change of Bengal, and bitter almonds of Bombay. Admiral John Splinter Stavorinus (1768-71) states that "copper coin is not seen in *Bengal*. For change they make use of the small sea-shells called cowries, eighty of which make a *poni*; and sixty, or sixty-five *ponis*, according as there are few or many cowries in the country, make a rupee. They come from the *Maldive* Islands. The money-changers sit upon all the *bazars* with quantities of them, to furnish the lower orders with change, for the purchase of necessaries."* The same authority says that at Súrat, "in the same way as cowries are made use of in *Bengal*, as the lowest medium of exchange, almonds, which are called *badams*, are employed for the purpose here."† Linschoten remarked in 1584 that almonds were used for coins at Súrat,‡ and the observation is confirmed by Mandelslo (1638), who says that thirty-six almonds or eighty "kauret" shells went to the pice.§ We read of ten tons of cowries being ordered by "our Honourable Masters" to be shipped in 1753, and of a tribute of "12,000 *kahuns* of cowries" in 1803.‖ This accounts

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* *Voyages to the East Indies*, 1798, i. 461-2. † *Ibid.* iii. 10.

‡ *Voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies*, ed. A. C. Burnell and P. A. Tiele, i. 241 ff. (Hakluyt Society).

§ *Voyages*, 118. ‖ *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.*

for the absence of copper coins in the series of the later Emperors.

The copper currency of Akbar, however, was abundant, as Mr. C. J. Rodgers has shown in his valuable papers in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal** and the *Indian Antiquary*.† Some obscurity exists as to the weights and denominations of these pieces. Abu-l-Fazl enumerates only the *dám* (or *paisah*), and its half, quarter, and eighth. But the word *dám* does not occur by itself on the coins. Instead, we find generally the vague term *fulús* فلوس, which means "money," the weight-denomination *tankah* تنکه, with its half نصفی, نیم تنکه, quarter چهارم حصه, eighth هشتم حصه, and sixteenth شانزدهم حصه; and the forms *dú tánkí* دو تانکی, or *double tánkí*, and what Mr. Rodgers reads as *chú tánkí* چو تانکی, *four tánkís;* though the Hindústání form چو for the Persian چهار is somewhat unexpected. The *mohr* مهر also occurs; and the *dámrá* دامرا, and *dámrí* دامری. These terms require consideration.

The thirty-nine specimens in the British Museum may be classified as follows :—

1. Fulús : 307 to 325 grs.‡

Ahmadábád A.H. 982 (wt. 312), 98*x* (314).
Dehlí, Iláhí 42-4 (37 = ⅛).

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* xlix. (1880); liv. (1885). † 1890, July, 220-224.

‡ Mr. Rodgers, in *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, xlix. 213-7, and *Ind. Antiq.*, 1890, gives the following weights of *fulús* and their fractions:—Alwar, A.H. 968 (303); Ahmadábád, A.H. 980 (314), 986 (318); Ajmír, 988 (313); Attak Benáres, Iláhí 37 (316); Burhánpúr, Iláhí 48 (310); Chitór, A.H. 999 (314); Dehlí, A.H. 981 (311), Iláhí 38 (308); Fathpúr, A.H. 989 (319), 986 (78 = ¼); Gwálior, Iláhí 38 (315); Hisár Fírózah, A.H. 967 (320) 996 (314); Jaunpúr, 970 (307); Lahore, A.H. 987 (325), 970 (315), 976 (289), Iláhí 43 (295), 38 (39 = ⅛); Lucknow, A.H. 989 (317); Málpúr, 985 (309); Multán, *Iláhí* 41 (312); Nárnól (?), A.H. 969 (37 = ⅛); Urdú-Zafar-Karín, Iláhí 42 (315), &c. These are all regular in weight, and in accord with the weights of fulús in the British Museum.

Dógám, A.H. 983 (312), 994 (321).
Fathpúr, A.H. 987 (309), 988 (311).
Gwálior, A.H. 9*xx* (309).
,, Iláhí 38 (316).
Jaunpúr, A.H. 98*x* (312).
Kábul, Iláhí 32, 33 (155=$\frac{1}{2}$).
Lahore, A.H. 97*x* (310).
,, Iláhí 39 (312), 43 (78=$\frac{1}{4}$), 36 (40=$\frac{1}{8}$).
Málpúr, A.H. 985 (319).
Multán, Iláhí 37 (310).
Núrnól, A.H. 963 (325), 965 (317), 980 (311), 982 (312).
,, Iláhí 36 (128).
Urdú-Zafar-Karín, A.H. 1000 (307).
Mint obliterated A.H. 966 (315), 980 (314), 987 (314, 318).

2. Tankah.*

Bairátah, Iláhí 44 (634, 644, 316).
No Mint, Iláhí year obliterated (36: $\frac{1}{16}$th شانزدهم حصت).

3. Tánki (all *Agrah*).†

1 Tánkí, Iláhí 47 (58).
2 ,, ,, 46 (116); 47 (120); 50 (122).
4 ,, ,, 47 (244).

4. Mohr.

Iláhabás, Iláhí 31 (315).

5. No Denomination.

Agrah, Iláhí 4*x* (67).

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* Mr. Rodgers (*ubi supra*) describes tankahs of 618, 620, 623, 625·5, and 626 grs., and of 327 and 315 grs.; half-tankahs (so specified in their inscriptions), of 317, 309, and 318 grs.; a quarter-tankah of 158 grs.; an eighth of 39·5 grs. (*sic*); and sixteenths of 37·5 and 38·5 grs., all so specified.

† Mr. Rodgers (*ubi supra*) publishes a 1 tánkí piece of Lahore (?) Iláhí 46 (59 grs.), and others of 59, 58·8 grs.; 2 tánkí pieces of Agrah of 108 and 109 grs.; 4 tánkí pieces of 237-244·5 grs., agreeing with the weights in the British Museum.

According to the *Áín-i Akbarí* the *dám* or copper unit of Akbar weighed 1 *tolah*, 8 *máshas*, 7 *ratis*, or, at Mr. Thomas's estimate of the rati, 323·5 grs. It is therefore clear that the coins which are named *fulús* in their inscriptions, and weigh from 307 to 325 grs., are *dáms*, whilst the Kábul specimen of 153 grs. is an *adhélah* or half-dám; the Lahore piece of 78 grs. a *páulah* or quarter-dám; and the two coins of 36 and 37 grs. *dámrís* or eighths of a dám. Mr. Rodgers has published a half-dám (نیم دام, specifically so named) of 148·7 grs., a *dámrí* of 40 grs., and a *dámrá* (presumably two dámrís, or 1 paúlah) of 76 grs. The *mohr* of Iláhábás (315 grs.) is also clearly a dám, and the word *mohr* is probably used, not as a denomination, but merely as meaning "stamp."

The term *tankah* appears to be used just as vaguely as *fulús*, both for dáms of 315 to 327 grs. and double dáms of 618 to 644 grs. Mr. Rodgers states that his weights prove that the tankah was equal to two dáms: but I do not draw the same inference. All his weights prove is that some tankahs weighed about 630 grs., and others about 320. He publishes a coin specifically named an *eighth* of a tankah, weighing nearly 40 grs., which brings the tankah to 320 grs., and also *sixteenths* of 38·5 grs., which would make it 616 grs.

The *tánkí* is quite distinct from the *tankah*. It weighs 58 or 59 grs., and its double weighs 108 to 122 grs.; while *four-tánkí* pieces weigh 237 to 244 grs. According to Mr. Rodgers the *tánkí* is a weight, not a coin, and he endeavours unsuccessfully to reconcile its weight (say 62 grs. when unworn) with the "jeweller's tank," which is stated in the *Áín* to be of 24 *ratis* (42 grs). A more probable hypothesis would be that, just as there were *fifth* parts (*panj, pandan, pandú*) of the mohr and rupee, so the *dám* had its fifth, called a *tánkí*. The weight, of 63 grs. or so, corresponds fairly well with

one-fifth of the dám of about 320 grs.; and the *dú tánkí* and *chú tánkí* pieces would correspond to $\frac{2}{5}$ths and $\frac{4}{5}$ths of the dám.

To sum up, allowing for wear, we have roughly—

The *Dám* (*paisah, fulús, tankah*), about 320 grains.
$\frac{1}{2}$,, (*adhélah, nim dám, nasfí*), 160 grs.
$\frac{1}{4}$,, (*paúlah, dámrá*), 80 grs.
$\frac{1}{8}$,, (*dámrí, hashtum hissah*), 40 grs.
Tankah, large (*double dám*), 640 grs.
,, *small* (*dám*), 320 grs.
$\frac{1}{4}$ *tankah, large* (*chuhár hissah*), 160.
$\frac{1}{8}$,, *small* (*hashtum hissah*), 45.
$\frac{1}{10}$,, *large* (*shánzdahum hissah*), 40.
Tánkí, fifth of dám, 63.
Double tánkí, 125.
Quadruple tánkí, 250.

Further investigation and the discovery of more specimens may confirm or modify these conclusions.

IX

COINAGE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

In the latter part of the *Catalogue* will be found descriptions of various coins issued by the East India Company in imitation of the Moghul currency. According to the principle of classification adopted in the Department of Coins, all clearly European issues, by which are meant coins issued with European legends or images, struck in the colonies and British possessions abroad, are placed among what is termed the British Colonial Series; and accordingly the early issues of Elizabeth, the obviously English coins of the Bombay factory, and the Imperial currency instituted by the Company in 1835, with the head of the King or the Lion on the obverse, etc., are omitted from the Moghul series and included in the Colonial Series. But when the Company's coins bear the name of an Indian sovereign, and were intended to pass among the people as though they had been struck by that sovereign himself, they cannot be regarded as part of the regular Colonial Series, but must be classed along with the coins which they avowedly counterfeit. Thus the coins issued by the Madras and Calcutta authorities, nominally from the mint of Arkát, in 1815, etc., are included in the *Catalogue*, because they bear the name of 'Álamgír II.; and similarly the Company's well-known "19 san" rupee of 1793—1835 is described in the Moghul volume, because it bears the name of Sháh-'Álam, though it continued to be issued long after this Emperor's death.

The task of distinguishing the Company's imitations from the Moghul issues is not always easy, and sometimes is impossible. Considerations of fabric, mint-marks, &c., are of assistance, but a knowledge of the

mint records is essential to a final and permanent classification, and it may be doubted whether even these would avail to solve a large proportion of the complicated problems presented by the coinage. At present, however, this branch of information has been but imperfectly investigated. A considerable number of important facts has been collected by Prinsep, Marsden, Ruding, Atkins, and Sir Walter Elliot, &c.; and recently a valuable addition has been made to our sources by Mr. Edgar Thurston, the superintendent of the Madras Central Museum, who has explored the archives of the Madras mint.* It is much to be desired that similar researches should be made at Calcutta and Bombay; for until this is done more completely than Prinsep was able to do it, any detailed classification must be more or less tentative.

A cursory glance at the history of the Company's coinage will show the causes of this difficulty of classification. Although the first charter of the "Old"† or London East India Company (styled in full, "The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies,") dates from the close of the year 1600, the Directors never assumed the right to authorize the issue of a universal currency for India, *bearing the Company's name*, till 1835. During this long interval several methods were employed to meet the monetary exigencies of their trade. For example, special coins with the device of a portcullis were exported from England in Elizabeth's reign for use in the Company's factories:

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* *History of the Coinage of the Territories of the East India Company in the Indian Peninsula*, &c., with 20 plates. Madras, 1890.

† So called to distinguish it from the later "English Company" or "General Society," founded in 1698. The two were united in 1708-9 under the title of "The United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies," commonly called the Honourable East India Company. The natives called it *Jahán-Kumpani*, "Company of the World," whence the nickname "John Company."

such, however, would of course be employed only for trade with European nations, and would not pass in the interior of India. When Charles II.'s queen brought him, as part of her dowry, the port and island of Bombay (in 1661, but the place was not surrendered till 1665), the king by Letters Patent dated 27 March, 1669, transferred them to the Company, to be held "as of the Manor of East Greenwich" in free and common soccage at a farm rent of 10*l*. Bombay soon (1685) became the seat of the Western Presidency, and already in 1671 a mint was founded, where the Company's agents by royal permission issued a local coinage of their own with English inscriptions, for circulation in the island and the immediate neighbourhood. The Letters Patent of 5 October, 1677, contain the following clause on this subject: "And also of our farther especiall grace vertuwe knowledge and meere motion We doe by these presents for us our Heires and Successors give and graunt unto the said Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies and their Successors full and free liberty power and Authority from tyme to tyme and at all tymes hereafter within the Port and Island of Bombay in the East Indies and the Precincts and Territoryes thereof and thereunto belonging to Stamp and Coyne or Caused to bee Stamped and Coyned moneys of Gold Silver Copper Tynne or Lead or of any mixt mettall Compounded or made up of them or any of them to bee Currant within the said Port and Island Fort and Townes and the Precincts and Territories thereof And also in all the Islands Ports Havens Cittys Creeks Townes and Places whatsoever within the East Indies Expressed mentioned or contayned in our said severall Charters or Letters Patents herein before mentioned or either of them with such Impression and

Inscription thereupon to bee made and to bee called or knowne by the Name or Names of Rupees Pices and Budgerookes," etc.* The historian Khâfí Khán records that "some rupees which the English had coined at Bombay with the name of their impure king," were shown to the Emperor Aurangzíb in 1694 (A.H. 1105); but when Khafí Khán was sent to expostulate, the chief of the Bombay factory explained that these pieces were only "current in our own jurisdiction."† Such coins are, therefore, properly classed as English colonial currency. For circulation among the natives in India, the Company were forced either to send their bullion to be minted by the Moghul governors, or to imitate at various local mints the common coins of the contemporary Moghul Emperor. The native princes having raised objections to this exercise of the privilege of coining, the Company obtained further powers by Letters Patent from James II., dated 12 April, 1686 (A.H. 1097), by which they were authorized to issue at all their forts copies of the current native coins, on the condition that they maintained an equal weight and fineness with the pieces they copied. The Bombay factory was directed to use "such stamps, dies, and tools, as were common in the country."‡ In 1688-9, the native authorities, anxious to obviate the exercise of this royal permission, granted the Company the right to send their bullion to be coined at the Moghul mint at Súrat; but it appears they preferred to continue their practice of coining at Bombay.

At this early period there is no means of distinguishing between the Moghul issues and the Company's

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* Facsimile in *Journal of Indian Art*, No. 31. See also Sir G. Birdwood, *Report on the Old Records of the India Office*, 2nd reprint, 219, &c.

† Khâfí Khán, ED. vii. 351.

‡ Parchment Records, India Office: Birdwood, *op. cit.*, 285.

imitations. Nor can we be certain that a coin bearing the name of a certain city was struck at that mint. We read, for example, that the Bèngal Council in 1707 (1119), sent a specimen of the new Emperor Bahádur's rupees to Fort St. George to be copied for use in the trade with Bengal.* But it is specially mentioned that this rupee was not to be used at Madras, because it might give offence to the rival Emperor, or pretender, Kám Bakhsh, whose influence was then predominant in the Deccan. Thus Bengal rupees † might be coined at Madras, and (as will be seen) Madras rupees at Calcutta.

So far all coining by the Company at their own mints was carried on with difficulty and interruption, and against the will of the Moghul rulers; indeed, the Company's coinage was at this period simple forgery, though the fact that it passed among the natives shows that it was intrinsically as good as the imperial currency, from which it apparently could not be distinguished. But in 1717 (1129) the Company were permitted to escape from this invidious position. In that year the Emperor Farrukh-siyar, yielding, no doubt, to substantial persuasions, and perceiving the futility of resistance, granted a firmán by which the English were allowed to coin money of the Empire in the island of Bombay.‡ The permission, however, is said to have not been practically put in force till 1725 (1137), when the Bombay mint, which had apparently fallen into disuse, no doubt by reason of the Emperor's opposition, was rebuilt.§ In 1742 (1154–5) the Company were also granted permission to coin rupees in imitation of those struck by the Imperial

* Thurston, *op. cit.*, 24.

† The word rupee is often officially used in a general sense to include both gold and silver coins; and we come across the term "gold rupee" in the writings of European travellers.

‡ Thurston, *op. cit.*, 25.

§ In contradiction of this statement, see below, p. cvi.

governors at Arkát,* and they issued rupees, with the name of the nominal mint Arkát, at Fort St. George for circulation in the Deccan, and later on, at Calcutta and Dhákká for use in Bengal. The French Compagnie des Indes exercised a similar privilege of issuing "Arkát" rupees at Pondicherry. The Arkát rupees struck at Madras had the mark of a *trisúl*, or "Siva's trident"; those struck at Calcutta, a *rose;* and the French, a *crescent.*†

In Bengal the Company were for a long time obliged to send their bullion to be coined at the mints of the Nawáb of the province, which were at Dhákká, Patnah, and Murshidábád. But at length in 1759 (1171-2), the Nawáb Siráj-ad-daulah gave them permission to establish a mint of their own at Calcutta.‡ In 1764 (1176), after the battle of Buxar, the Moghul Emperor Sháh-'Álam submitted to the English, who in 1765 took over the administration of what remained of his realm, but assigned to him the province of Alláhábád with the district of Korah, together with a subsidy for his establishment.§ In taking over the administration, the Company also assumed the right of coinage. At first, indeed, the Nawáb of Bengal continued to strike coins, whilst agreeing to pass Calcutta rupees as equal to those of his own mint of Murshidábád; but the mints at Patnah, Dhákká, and Murshidábád were soon abolished, and all the coins for Bengal were struck at Calcutta, whatever supposititious mint name they might bear.‖

* Prinsep, *Useful Tables*, 24.

† Thurston, *op. cit.*, 50; 102 *note.* ‡ *Ibid.* 33.

§ This was arranged by the Treaty of Alláhábád, dated 16 Aug., 1765, between the English and the Nawáb Vazír of Oudh, and by "Articles of agreement," dated 19 Aug., 1765, confirming certain firmáns of the 12th of the same month. The Treaty is given in facsimile in the *Journal of Indian Art*, No 31. The coin issued in the Emperor's name at Calcutta in A.H. 1176, the only piece of its kind, seems to have been struck in commemoration of this event. It is in the nature of a medal.

‖ Thurston, *op. cit.*, 34, 38.

Here, then, we come upon one of the perplexities of this period. For some years after 1765 there appears to have been a double issue in Bengal,—the Nawáb's and the Company's; and no record so far has been published of the distinction between the two. In the classification of these issues, the principal guide is necessarily the style and fabric of the coins themselves.

In 1793 (1207-8) the Company endeavoured to put an end to the existing confusion and discrepancies of weight and purity by establishing a standard currency which should supersede the various local issues. For this purpose they selected the coinage struck at Murshidábád in the 19th year of Sháh-'Álam's reign as the most suitable for imitation,—presumably because the most correct in standard and the most perfect in design and execution. The result was the coin familiar to Anglo-Indians under the name of the "19 san" or "sikkah" rupee (and mohr) of Murshidábád, which was now fixed as the standard coin to the exclusion of all others in Bengal, though the old rupees of the 11th, 12th and 15th year were still to pass current until there should be a sufficiency of the new coinage.* The old mints at Dhákká, Patnah, and Murshidábád are said to have been revived for this issue: but Marsden asserts that it was all coined at Calcutta. The 19th year of Sháh-'Álam's reign was retained on the obverse, whatever Hijrah year might appear on the reverse, and this absurd anachronism went on until the true colonial coinage of 1835 was introduced.

So much for the foundation of the Lower Bengal coinage which formed the chief currency of Calcutta until 1835, though modified, from time to time, notably in 1818 and 1832. The upper country in Bengal, however, was served from other mints, of which the chief were Benáres and Farrukhábád, and these were the only two

* Marsden, *Num. Orient.*, ii. 688. Prinsep, *op. cit.*, 24.

up-country mints used by the Company until 1830. The Benáres mint was established by Rájá Balwant Singh in 1730 (1142), and remained under native control for twenty years after the Company took over the administration of the province in 1765.* The Company's Farrukhábád mint was founded in 1803 (1218), about a year after the Duáb had been ceded to the English, and issued its "45 san" rupee, in imitation of what was known as the "Lucknow 45 san sikkah"† struck at the Fathgarh mint of the Moghul: the 45th year of 'Sháh-Álam corresponding to the year 1218 of the Hijrah (1803). The Benáres mint which had for some time been issuing the Nawáb of Oudh's rupees, in 1806 was made to coin Company's coin, with the mint-mark of the trisúl or Siva's trident. Neither mint enjoyed a long existence. That at Farrukhábád was closed in 1824 (1240) and that at Benáres in 1830 (1246):‡ but, in accordance with the anomalous ways of the time the Benáres mint ceased to issue its own rupees in 1819, and substituted an issue of *Farrukhábád* rupees from 1819 till its suppression in 1830. After that date, Ságar§ and Calcutta took up the duty of issuing *Farrukhábád* coins for the up-country circulation, until this branch of the coinage was suppressed in 1835. The various difficulties in the classification of the coins arising from this confusion of mints will be noticed further on.

The following table, based upon Prinsep's data,‖ shows the different classes of the Company's Bengal

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* Prinsep, *op. cit.*, 26. Thurston, *op. cit.*, 43.

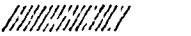
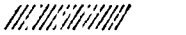
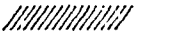
† It is not explained why it was called a "Lucknow" rupee, although it bore the name of Ahmadnagar Farrukhábád, and was struck at Fathgarh; but this is merely an example of the confusion of the subject.

‡ Prinsep, *op. cit.*, 26.

§ Ságar was established as a native mint in 1779 (1193) by the Peshwá's officer at Garrah Mandlah; and was ceded to the English in 1818.

‖ *Op. cit.*, 3.

issues, so far as they adopted the European style of a collar, rim, or milled edges, by which they may be distinguished. That there were other issues, after the native style, will be shown later.

	Milling, etc.
Murshidábád :—	
Old standard sikkah rupee of 1793-1818.	
New „ „ „ „ 1818-1832.	
Later standard sikkah rupee of 1832-5.	No milling, but a dotted rim on the face.
Farrukhábád :—	
Old standard Farrukhábád rupee (or "45 san Lucknow rupee") of 1803-19.	
New standard Farrukhábád rupee (coined at Farrukhábád, 1819-24, at Benáres 1819-30; and at Ságar and Calcutta, 1819-33).	
Later Farrukhábád rupee 1833-5. .	Plain edge and plain rim.
Benáres :—	
Benáres rupee 1806-1819	

It will be noticed that oblique milling prevailed in all three mints until 1818-9, straight milling from 1819 to 1832-3, and plain edges from 1833-5.

In September 1835 the Company established an English coinage with the head of William IV. in place of the name of the Moghul Emperor, and all the older issues were ordered to be suppressed.

Turning to Bombay, we find that the plan of a uniform and fixed coinage was adopted there rather later than the establishment of the "19 san Murshidábád" currency in Bengal (1793). The mohrs and rupees of

Súrat had long been the models on which the Bombay coins had been imitated; but there arose discrepances in the fineness which obliged the Company to have their coins restruck at Súrat. It was not till 1800 (1214) that the Bombay mint recommenced the issue of Súrat rupees,* and not till 1804 (1219), the 46th year of Sháh-Álam, that a fixed coinage was established.† The Bombay-Súrat coins, both in gold and silver, bearing this year, were distinguished by a crown, but this mark was soon abandoned, and the familiar "46 san Súrat rupees" are only distinguishable by their date from the native issues. Like the "19 san" rupee of Murshidábád, the "46 san" rupee of Súrat continued to be struck, irrespective of the true date, until the establishment of a general British currency in 1835.

The Madras coinage, with the nominal mint Arkát, has already been mentioned.

The foregoing summary of the history of the coinage of the East India Company up to the establishment of an English currency in 1835 prepares the way for an examination of the reasons which have ruled the classification of these issues in the *Catalogue*, and of the means of distinguishing between them and the contemporary native coinages.

The history of the Company's coinage (for circulation among natives) before 1835 has been seen to fall into three periods:—

1. The Period of Prohibition; when the Company either sent its bullion to be coined at the Moghul mints, or else issued illicit imitations, *i.e.* forgeries.

* Prinsep, *op. cit.*, 24. This year is the date of the suppression of the native Nawáb or governor at Súrat.

† Atkins, *Coins of British Possessions and Colonies* (1889), says that Súrat rupees were copied by the Company from 1733 to 1780 (1146—1194), and then the 46 san rupee was introduced. This last statement is irreconcilable with the fact that Sháh 'Álam's 46th year corresponds to 1804.

2. The Period of Concession; when the Company obtained limited rights of coining, viz. :—

a. To coin at Bombay, 1716 (1129), but not exercised until 1725 (1137).

b. To copy Arkát rupees, 1742 (1154).

c. To establish a mint at Calcutta, 1759 (1171).

3. The Period of Administration; when the Company practically took over the administration and minting of the Moghul Empire, 1765 (1178).

In classifying the coins these three periods must be treated in succession :—

(1.) During the *first* of these periods it is obviously impossible to distinguish between the Moghul and the Company's issues. The latter were forgeries, and forgeries that were so good that they apparently could not be detected.

(2.) In the *second* period there are only three mints to be considered : Bombay, Arkát (Madras), and Calcutta, corresponding to the three chief factories of the Company and to the three modern Presidencies.

We are not informed what kind of coin the Bombay mint was authorized to issue in 1716, but it is termed "coin of the Empire," which must indicate coin such as the Moghul Emperor issued from his own mints : and any doubt which might be entertained on the subject is removed by my discovery, in the cabinet of the British Museum, of the very coins in question. They all bear the mint name منبی (or منبے) *Munbai*, pronounced *Mumbai* (Bombay).* The earliest, three in number, are dated A.H. 1131 (1719), and the year 1 [of Muhammad Sháh], which shows that the

* Marsden read this as "*the Moneer of the maps*," and Mr. Thurston, *op. cit.*, describes his no. 39 (Pl. xvi. 4) as a *Súrat* rupee, though it reads Munbai and is similar to nos. 79 and 80, p. 279, in the *Catalogue*.

privilege of coining, granted in 1716, was speedily exercised, and not postponed till 1725 as stated in the records. These coins, and one of 1143 (1730), do not bear the name of a Moghul Emperor on the reverse, but merely the inaccurately engraved inscription سکه مبارك شاهٔن شاه غازی. What the figure 5 represents is a difficult problem, unless it be a bad copy of the ها in شاهان شاه. It may refer to the relation of the coins to the rupee: for they all weigh 37 grains, which is about one-fifth of the full weight of a rupee. The 1725 issue, recorded in the annals, is represented by the rupee no. 72, which bears the name of Muhammad Sháh and the regnal year 7, corresponding to 1137 (1725). A later rupee is dated in the eighteenth year of Muhammad Sháh, and A.H. 1148 (1735), with a counter-stamp, probably a shroff-mark of a Moghul money-changer. A gold mohr is dated the 9th of Sháh-'Álam, A.H. 1182 (1768); and a rupee bears the same regnal year, but the Hijrah date is 1188 (1774), an error not infrequent on Anglo-Moghul coins. Finally, two very badly engraved rupees, having no dates, and wearing a modern look, appear to have been issued at Calcutta for Bombay in 1800.*

As to Arkát, there is little difficulty in distinguishing the coins struck with this name at Madras, Calcutta, and Pondicherry, respectively, from those issued by the Moghul authorities at the city of Arkát itself. The latter have no particular mark, whilst there is ample authority for identifying the trisúl or trident, rose, and crescent, as the respective symbols of the three above-named European mints. The Company's coins all bear the name of the Emperor 'Álamgír II., and the sixth year of his reign (whatever the Hijrah year),

* See the footnote to the *Catalogue*, p. 279.

which seems to suggest that the issue of Arkát rupees, though authorized in 1742 (1154), was not actually carried out till the reign of that Emperor 1754—61 (1167—75). The earliest dated issues in the British Museum are of A.H. 1213—4 (1798—1800), and are precisely similar to the contemporary native coinage of Arkát, with the addition of the trisúl ψ. In 1815 a milled coinage was established (with the name of 'Álamgír II., and years 1172 and 6 of reign) which lasted until 1835, and was issued at Madras with the trisúl and at Calcutta with the rose. The Calcutta issues have a straight milling, which, if we reason from the analogy of the Company's Bengal currency, would suggest that they were struck between the years 1818 and 1832. The French rupees, with the mint Arkát and the crescent, bear the name of Sháh-'Álam more usually than that of 'Álamgír II., and, unlike the English issues, they vary the regnal years on the obverse in accordance with those of the Hijrah on the reverse, though they start from a wrong date of accession.* The same symbols, the trisúl and the crescent, appear on some rupees of Masulipatan, but here both belong to the period of the English occupation; though the crescent is doubtless a survival from the French conquest.

Of the Calcutta mint, authorized in 1759 (1171), very little is known in this *second* period. The only† occurrence of this name is on the commemorative piece of 1176 already referred to (ante, p. lxxxv., note), and on some copper coins. The Calcutta mint was almost exclusively employed in issuing coins bearing the names of

* M. Zay's work on the French colonial coinages is weak in the Indian section.

† The rupee no. 726, described by an oversight on p. 143 of the *Catalogue* as of Calcutta, is, of course, of Golkondah.

other mints (*e.g.* Arkát, and later on Murshidábád, Furrukhábád, &c.).

(3.) The *third* period presents the chief difficulties in classification. It extends from the assumption of administrative powers by the Company in Bengal in 1765 to the inauguration of a European currency in 1835, during the whole of which interval the name of Sháh-'Álam appears on the Company's coinage (except that of "Arkát"), although this Emperor died in 1806. As Sháh-'Álam's authority was purely nominal, and he was generally under British or Marátha control, it is idle to seek for any individual exercise of monetary powers by the Emperor personally. All that has to be done is to draw the line between the coinage issued in his name by the provincial governors (however independent, or however much under the real authority of the English) and the coinage issued at the Company's mints, which were few and well known. (See table above, p. ciii.) The latter alone can be properly termed Company's coins, however much other money may have been supervised by their officers.

We have first to determine what coins must be placed under *Sháh-'Álam*. Under this head are classed all those coins which bear his name, and have legible mints and consistent dates (*i.e.* dates in which the regnal and Hijrah years are in accord). A large number of these coins were issued by one or other of the numerous quasi-independent states which sprang up all over India upon the decay of the Moghul authority; but so long as they show the Emperor's name, and so long as their dates tally with his reign, they must be classed as his coinage, though he was only a figure head. This principle of classification excludes a large number of coins which do not fulfil the conditions here laid down: these will be referred to later. Sháh-'Álam's coinage is essentially

of a local character, and is therefore divided under the several mints.

It is curious that there seem to be no specimens of Sháh-'Álam's coinage issued at his first capital, Alláhábád. His most important coinage was at *Sháhjahánábád*, modern Dehlí, where he can hardly be said to have been master; since he was a puppet there in the hands of the Maráthas from 1771-88 (1185-1203) and their prisoner from 1788 until Lord Lake's victory over them, March 14, 1803 (1217), when Delhí was administered for a year or two by a British resident. There are very few coins of this mint belonging to the Marátha period, and these present no peculiarities: but the British occupation is prominently signalized on the coinage. The British lion, which was the Company's crest, appears to the right of the imperial umbrella on rupees of 1218 (which year began in April 1803), but in deference, it is said, to the prejudices of the blind Emperor, who was told that the English had engraved an unclean animal on the coins, the lion gave place to the cinquefoil (the badge adopted on the coinage by the Company)* on rupees of 1218 and 1219 (1803-4). In the same way, on the large thin issues (probably *nisárs*, see above, p. lxxxvi.) of this mint, instead of the tree which usually stands beside the umbrella, we find the

* Although a rose with five petals formed part of the arms of the "Old" Company, at least as early as 1677 (cf. plate in *Journal of Indian Art*, no. 31), it was not found in the arms of the "New" Company, or of the Honourable United Company. The new arms granted in 1698 were: Argent a cross gules, on a shield in the dexter quarter the arms of France and England quarterly within a compartment, adorned with an Imperial crown; for the crest, upon a helm on a torse or wreath argent and gules, a lion rampant gardant or, holding between his paws an imperial crown proper, mantled gules, doubled argent; supported by two lions gardant or, each holding a banner argent charged with a cross gules. (See facsimile of the Grant in *Journal of Indian Art*, no. 31.)

cinquefoil * introduced on rupees of 1218 to 1221, while a truly British wreath, composed of roses, thistles, and shamrocks, encircles the coinage of A.H. 1219 to 1220. Sháh-'Álam's coinage at Etáwá, Ahmadábád, Arkát, Akbarábád, Najíbábád (the capital of the Rohila chief Najíb-ad-daulah) and other mints, calls for no special notice; he died in 1221 (1806).

We now come to *mints which passed from native control into the Company's*, such as *Benáres*, and the problem to be determined is where the native coinage ends and the Company's begins. The older Benáres type (represented in the Museum from A.H. 1183 to 1196) was exchanged for a new issue, distinguished by a large flower of four petals, at or before 1203 (1787-8). These coins bear a double regnal year, one referring to Sháh-'Álam, the other invariably 17. Marsden † explains this latter as being the date of the succession (1191 A.H.), of Ásaf-ad-daulah, the Nawáb-Vazír of Oudh, under whose authority these coins were issued: the year 1191, of course, being the 17th year of Sháh-'Álam, who came to the throne in 1173. This type of Benáres coinage runs on, as to regnal years, to the 49th year of Sháh-'Álam, which corresponds to 1221, the year of his death; but the Hijrah dates include 1222, 1224, and 1225 (1810 A.D.), which are all later than the Emperor's death.

Now we have already seen that Prinsep says that the Benáres mint remained under native control for twenty years after the Company took over the administration of Bengal in 1765. It is distinctly stated by the Indian historians that on the death of the Nawáb Vazír Shujá'-

* The same arrangement was adopted by Muhammad Akbar II. and Bahádur II., the two puppet Emperors who succeeded Sháh-'Álam, until the Indian Mutiny brought about the end of the effete dynasty.

† *Num. Orient.* 693.

ad-daulah in A.H. 1191, the English received the districts of Benáres, Jaunpúr, Gházípúr, and Chunár, from his successor Ásaf-ad-daulah, in consideration of his being confirmed in his post, and these parts were accordingly annexed. The coins with the special year of the Nawáb of Oudh seem to disprove this statement: the native control, according to them, must have lasted up to 1810. On the other hand, the only milled Benáres rupee in the National collection (no. 66), clearly belonging to the Company's issue of 1806—1819, bears the Nawáb's number 17 and the four-petal flower, exactly like the earlier issues, but the Hijrah year 1229 (1814). Moreover, it is distinctly stated that the Company issued coins at Benáres from 1806. We must therefore conclude either that the Company permitted the Nawáb to go on coining till 1810, or that they began their own coinage at Benáres by copying his. But that the Company did issue coins of a pronounced native type, without the collar or milled edge, is shown by a curious series of eleven coins. These belong to the older Benáres type, prior to the issue of the four-petal-flower type, but the fabric is unquestionably more modern, and the fact that a fixed regnal year (26) is retained, whilst the Hijrah years range from 1212 to 1233 (1797 to 1817), is a probable indication of European negligence. These are, in my opinion, Company's coins. And if so, this is a reason why the flower type should not be theirs, for it is improbable that they issued both simultaneously. Thus we have—

Old Benáres type	1183-1196.
Flower-type (with Nawáb's year 17) . . .	1203-1225.
Company's *native style* and regnal year 26 .	1212-1233.
„ *milled* flower type and Nawáb's year 17,	1229.

The next transitional mint, first native, then belonging

to the Company, is *Súrat*. The Company coined here at the native mint and imitated native Súrat coins at Bombay in the first and second periods (see above, p. xclvii. .), but illegally: they only possessed the right to coin at Bombay for internal circulation. Whatever coins they may have issued before 1800 with the name Súrat are indistinguishable, so far as I know, from the Moghul coinage. Prinsep tells us that in 1800 the Bombay mint recommenced the issue of Súrat rupees,* and the date is confirmed by the circumstance that the English, who had owned the fort of Súrat since 1611 (1020), and had become supreme in the city since 1759, took the final step of abolishing the nominal authority of the native Nawáb in 1800.† The earliest specimen of this new issue of Súrat rupees and mohrs by the Company is a quarter-mohr (*Catalogue*, No. 81). It shows but a portion of the usual inscription, and no Hijrah or regnal year; but it is marked with a crowned head, in token of English fabrication, and it has the figures 1802 engraved (not counterstruck) on a label on the reverse. The next dated specimens have the regnal year 46 (which, as has been seen, was a fixed date), a crown in place of the third point over ضرب, and (on the silver coins) the Christian date 1825. The next issue resembles this last, except in the absence of the crown: there is nothing to show that it is a Company's coinage except the year 46 (1804) which is posterior to any native rule in Súrat. The style and fabric of all these coins is native. In Nos. 87 ff., however, the milled edge is employed, and coins of this type continue down to the establishment of the European currency of 1835.

The Company's "*Murshidábád*" coinage is known to

* *Op. cit.*, 24. Rupee, here as before, is used as a generic term for coin, and includes gold mohrs.

† Hunter, *Imp. Gazetteer of India*, *s.v.*

have begun soon after their assumption of administrative authority in Bengal in 1765 (1178), but it does not follow that it began at Murshidábád itself. The Nawáb of Bengal undoubtedly continued to issue Sháh-'Álam's money at Murshidábád, Patnah (also called 'Azímábád), and Dhákká, for some time later.* The Murshidábád coins Nos. 1188-1198, ranging from A.H. 1180 to 119*x* (1766-1776 ff.), which I have ascribed to the native mint, are of a totally distinct fabric from any of those which belong to the East India Company's coinage. The regnal and Hijrah years, moreover, are consistent, which cannot be said of many of the Company's issues. If it be urged that the Company's badge, a cinquefoil, occurs on some of them, the natural reply is that the cinquefoil, like everything else in the Company's imitative issues, must have existed on the native currency before it could be copied.

On the other hand, the issues of the regnal year 10, and A.H. 1182-3 (1768) with dotted rims, although they present consistent regnal and Hijrah years, are marked by their fabric as the work of the Company's servants. The same fabric as that of the year 10 is seen in the issue of the regnal years 11, 12, 13, 15, and 19; but in those of 19 the regnal year for the first time remains stationary, while the Hijrah years move on through 1196, 1197, 1198, 1201, 1202, to 1203, a tolerably sure sign of the Company's handiwork. If these last belong to the Company's series, so do those of the regnal year 10. They are doubtless the coins referred to in the Company's regulation of 1793, in issuing the "19 san" coinage: "the rupees of the 11th, 12th, and 15th sun were indeed directed to be received equally with the 19th sun sicca rupee, but this

* See above, p. lxxxv.

was a temporary measure." A glance at Plates xxix and xxx of the *Catalogue* will show the difference between this fabric and that of the native issues.

The deduction from what has been said above is that the Nawáb went on coining at Murshidábád for some years, whilst the Company were simultaneously striking coins, with the name of Murshidábád, at Calcutta. This was the result of the treaty made in 1765 between the Governor and Council of Fort William and the Nawáb of Bengal by which the latter agreed to "cause the rupees coined at Calcutta to pass in every respect equal to the Siccas of Moorshedabad, without any deduction of Batta."* It is true that the native mints were withdrawn "soon after the commencement of the Company's administration,"† but the phrase is elastic, and the native mints may have continued to issue Murshidábád rupees for a dozen years, whilst the Company was going through the experiments of the regnal years 10 to 15, leading up to the well-known "19 san sikkah.

The Farrukhábád issues call for little notice. The native coinages run from A.H. 1179 to 1218, though the regnal year 39 is misused on the last four coins. The Company's issues of "45 san" rupees, have three successive varieties of milling or plain rim.

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* Thurston, *op. cit.*, 34. † Regulation of 1793: Ibid. 38.

X.

LOCAL COINAGE

In spite of this somewhat intricate examination of the various issues of the 18th and 19th centuries in India, a considerable number of coins have necessarily been omitted. These are what are known as "Indian Local Coinages."

They consist of the issues of the numerous petty states which attained to various stages of semi-independence or nominal dependence during the decay of the Moghul empire, and especially during the reign of Sháh-'Álam. They generally bear this Emperor's name, often long after his decease, but their dates are frequently fictitious, the regnal year bears no agreement with that of the Hijrah, and worst of all the mint itself is often wanting, or is merely represented by a symbol, which not seldom stands for more than one mint, and which too often it is impossible to identify with any mint. Had these local issues been carefully described and engraved when they were current, there would be no difficulty in the subject; and the plain reason that they defy classification is that all those who were living at the time when they were in circulation are long dead, and even Prinsep, with all the materials which were at his hand in 1833, was compelled to acknowledge the hopeless confusion of this branch of the coinage. What Prinsep could not effect with his opportunities in 1833, no one can accomplish after sixty years have diminished or abolished every source of information. The complexity of the subject may best be illustrated by a quotation from Prinsep's work.* He based his remarks on reports presented by government officers in

* *Useful Tables*, 27 ff.

Ajmír, Málwah, and the Narbada provinces in reply to questions circulated though the Mint Committee in 1818 and 1823; but in spite of such valuable materials he was forced to admit the incompleteness of his information.

"We have before remarked," he says, "that none of the coins now [1833] forming the circulation of Hindústán bear any other name than that of Sháh-'Álam,* and although we have no perfect information of the origin or date of the mints of Púnah, Nágpúr, or of the principal states of Rájputána, still we may safely assume that, until the authority of Dehlí was annihilated, the representative of the monarch in the various *súbahs*, or provinces, alone exercised the privilege of coining; and that even when it was assumed by chieftains already in actual independence, the form of a *sanad* or permission was obtained from the Emperor by purchase or extortion. The petty Rájá of Dattiah, for instance, was indignant [in 1824] at the supposition that he had opened his mint without authority, and of all the chiefs within Lieut. Moody's agency [at Bangál and Kantál], Rájá Pratáp Singh of Chatrapúr was the only one who could not produce his authority. The chiefs of Jhánsí and Jálaon cited the sanction of the Peshwá; the Tahrí Rájá, the tacit permission of the English. No notice, however, of mints was found in any of the *sanads* or treaties to which that officer had access.

"When first established, the mints were no doubt in most cases made the source of fraudulent profit to the government, by the issue of a debased coin, which was supported at an enhanced nominal value through the interdiction of the purer standards of neighbouring districts. A Hindú prince, or the minister who rules for him, is in general a money-dealer: thus at Kotá the executive authority has a shroff in each town, and participates in all the benefits arising out of money operations in the market . . . . . .

"The list of mints which have sprung up in Central India is so formidable that it is difficult to attempt any classification of

* This is not strictly accurate. The Arkát rupees, for example, bore the name of 'Álamgír II.

them. Mr. Wilder, in 1819, enumerates the following rupees current in Ajmír:—Old Ajmír, Srísáhí, Krishnagarh, Kochanam, Chitor, Jaipúr, Hálí, Jodhpúr, Udaipúr, Sháhpúrah, Pratápgarh, Kotá, Búndí, and Bhilwárá.

"Mr. Maddock furnishes an equally long list from the Narbada:—Panná, Chatrapúr, Sironj, Shánsí, Chanda, Srínagar, Nágpúr, Garrah-Kotá, Bálásáhí, Ráthgarh, Tahrí, Bhopál, Sohágpúr, Sudhaurah, Jálaon, Ujjain, Iságarh.

"The difficulty is also increased by the threefold appellations given to coins: first, from the place of fabrication, as Indore, Ujjain, Ságar proper, etc.; second, from the person issuing them, as Sindhiasáhí from Sindhia, Bálásáhi from Bálájí Pandit, Gaur Sáhí from 'Alí Gaur, afterwards Sháh-'Álam, Mutí-Sáhí, a well-known Alláhábád coin of Mr. Achmuty; third, from some distinguishing symbol impressed on the field, as Trisúlí, from the 'trident' of Siva; Shamshírí from the figure of a 'sword' on the Haidarábád coin; Machhlisáhí and Shírsáhí from the 'fish,' and 'tiger' of the old and new Lucknow rupee, etc. There are also other titles common to different localities, as Chalan, 'current,' Hálí, 'of the present time;' and the distinction into Sans or different years of Sháh-'Álam's reign. . . . . .

"In Ajmír the Srísáhí rupee, coined by Tantia, formed in 1815 the principal currency; it has been partly supplanted by the Farrukhábád rupee since the province came into our possession.

"In Kotá there are three mints, at Kotá, Tantia Patan, and Gangroun, coining on an average thirty-six lákhs per annum; the currency is not debased.

"The Holkar currency of Indore, Hardá, and Makeswar and Ujjain rupee, are nearly at par with the Farrukhábád, but they maintain an unequal contest with the Sálimsáhí rupee, coined by the Rájá of Pratápgarh, of which there are three kinds . . . . .

"The northern parts of the Narbada territories were supplied with a base currency struck at Jabalpúr by Nána Ghatka in 1800; this mint was suppressed on cession to the English. The southern part (Dakhantír) had a rupee of still lower value struck at Sohágpúr, where a mint was established in 1810: it was abolished in 1818 by Mr. Molony. These rupees passed at par with Chanda and Nágpúr rupees, the chief issue of Berár.

"The Ságar mint was set up in 1779 by the Peshwa's officer at Garrah Mandlah, and coined about seventeen lakhs of Bálá-sáhí rupees per annum. Its operation continued under Mr. Maddock, who, to counteract the forgery going on at Garrah, inserted the word 'Sagar' in small English characters on the die. The new Ságar mint, erected in 1824, is now rapidly removing all the old coins from circulation.

"The standard of the Maráthí Government at Núgpúr, to which all the neighbouring mints were doubtless intended to conform, presents itself [even since the appointment of a British resident] one of the worst examples of irregularity and depreciation . . . . .

"In the Haidarábád country the government of the Nizám or of his Hindú minister has not been behindhand with its Maráthí rivals in the adulteration of the local currency; and by way of introducing greater confusion and vexation, there is a superior standard for the Palace and the Residency, an inferior for the city, and a *hukm chalami*, or forced token, the precise nature of which is dubious. The worst species are struck at Náráyanpat.

"In Bandalkhand the circulation consisted chiefly of Bálá Ráo's rupee, struck at Srínagar, near Panná. This mint issued at the time of its institution, in 1794, about eighteen lákhs per annum, but after 1819 the coinage fell to four lákhs. The same prince set up a mint at Jálaon, his capital, in 1809; its issue was at first six lákhs, and is now diminished to one-third of that amount.

"The Hánsí mint of Ráo Raín Chand dates from 1780; it issued three lákhs. Kuár Pratáp Singh's at Chatrapúr dates from 1816. The mints of Panná (1780), Samtar (of 1808) were on a most insignificant scale and have been put down. The Dattiah mint dates from 1784."

The Korah, Alláhábád, Agrah, Saháranpúr, Baraili, Kálpí, Etáwá, Mathurá, Pánipat, and other rupees, belonging "more immediately to the Dehlí group," were coined only on particular occasions or for short periods, and the mints "have long disappeared from our list."

It is obvious that the local issues described in the

preceding extracts cannot properly be classed with the imperial currency of the Moghuls, but form a series apart. On this ground, and on account of the impossibility of identifying most of the mints with any approach to precision, they have been excluded from the *Catalogue*. Their proper place would be found in a catalogue of the minor coinages which sprang up on the decay of the central power, in which the coins of the Sikhs, the Maráthas, and other modern Indian money, would also find a place. It must be confessed, however, that the line between the local and imperial coinage is hard to draw during Sháh-'Álam's reign, and some of the coins described under this Emperor might perhaps be classed with equal reason among the local issues.

XI

LIST OF DATED COINS OF THE MOGHUL EMPERORS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

*** Hijrah years in brackets [ ] are calculated by means of the *regnal* years. The numbers refer to the British Museum *Catalogue*.

Year A.H.	Regnal year.	MONTH.	Metal.	MINT.	EMPEROR.	NO.
933	—	——	*Ar*	——	Bábar*	1
935	—	——	,,	——	,,	2
936	—	——	,,	Lahore	,,	3
,,	—	——	,,	——	,,	4
942	—	——	,,	——	Humáyún	18
962	—	——	,,	——	,,	11
963	—	——	,,	——	Akbar	84
,,	—	——	*Æ*	Nárnól	,,	255
964	—	——	*Ar*	——	,,	85
965	—	——	*Æ*	Nárnól	,,	256
966	—	——	,,	——	,,	257
967	—	——	*Ar*	Agrah	,,	86
,,	—	——	,,	——	,,	87
96*x*	—	——	,,	Jaunpúr	,,	88, 88*a*
970	—	——	,,	——	,,	89, 90
,,	—	——	,,	Agrah	,,	91
971	—	——	*N*	,,	,,	23
,,	—	——	,,	,, ?	,,	24
,,	—	——	,,	Lahore	,,	25
,,	—	——	,,	——	,,	26-28
,,	—	——	*Ar*	——	,,	92, 93
,,	—	——	,,	Dehlí	,,	94
972	—	——	*N*	——	,,	29
,,	—	——	,,	Agrah	,,	30
,,	—	——	,,	Sárangpúr	,,	31
973	—	——	,,	——	,,	32
,,	—	——	*Ar*	——	,,	95
974	—	——	*N*	Lahore	,,	33
,,	—	——	*Ar*	Jaunpúr	,,	96
975	—	——	*N*	——	,,	34-37
,,	—	——	,,	Dehlí	,,	38
,,	—	——	*Ar*	,,	,,	97
,,	—	——	,,	Jaunpúr	,,	98
,,	—	——	,,	——	,,	99
976	—	——	*N*	——	,,	39

Year A.H.	Regnal year.	MONTH.	Metal.	MINT.	EMPEROR.	NO.
976	—	——	Ⱥ	Agrah	Akbar	40
,,	—	——	Ⱥ	——	,,	100
977	—	——	Ⱥ	Jaunpúr	,,	41
,,	—	——	,,	Dehlí	,,	42
,,	—	——	,,	Lahore	,,	43
,,	—	——	,,	——	,,	44
,,	—	——	Ⱥ	Agrah	,,	101
978	—	——	Ⱥ	,,	,,	45
,,	—	——	,,	Jaunpúr	,,	46
,,	—	——	Ⱥ	——	,,	102
97x	—	——	Ⱥ	Jaunpúr	,,	47
,,	—	——	Æ	Lahore	,,	258
980	—	——	Ⱥ	Ahmadábád	,,	48
,,	—	——	,,	Agrah	,,	49
,,	—	——	Ⱥ	——	,,	103
,,	—	——	Æ	Nárnól	,,	259
,,	—	——	,,	——	,,	260
981	—	——	Ⱥ	Agrah	,,	50, 51
,,	—	——	Ⱥ	——	,,	104
982	—	——	Ⱥ	Agrah	,,	52,53,54
,,	—	——	,,	Ahmadábád	,,	55, 56
,,	—	——	Ⱥ	,,	,,	105, 106
,,	—	——	Æ	,,	,,	261
,,	—	——	,,	Nárnól	,,	262
983	—	——	Ⱥ	Ahmadábád	,,	57
,,	—	——	,,	Jaunpúr	,,	58
,,	—	——	,,	Lahore	,,	59, 60
,,	—	——	Ⱥ	——	,,	107, 112
,,	—	——	,,	Jaunpúr	,,	108-10
,,	—	——	,,	Ahmadábád	,,	111
,,	—	——	Æ	Dógám	,,	263
984	—	——	Ⱥ	Sirhind	,,	61
,,	—	——	,,	——	,,	62, 64
,,	—	——	,,	Muhammad-ábád Udaipúr	,,	63
,,	—	——	Ⱥ	——	,,	113
985	—	——	Ⱥ	——	,,	65
,,	—	——	Ⱥ	Dehlí	,,	114
,,	—	——	,,	——	,,	115-17
,,	—	——	Æ	Málpúr	,,	264
986	—	——	Ⱥ	Fathpúr	,,	66
,,	—	——	Ⱥ	——	,,	118, 119
,,	—	——	,,	——	,,	120
,,	—	——	,,	Lahore	,,	122, 123
,,	—	——	,,	Fathpúr	,,	124
987	—	——	Ⱥ	,,	,,	67
,,	—	——	,,	Lahore	,,	68
,,	—	——	Ⱥ	——	,,	121, 132

Year A.H.	Regnal year.	MONTH.	Metal.	MINT.	EMPEROR.	NO.
987	—	——	Æ	Fathpúr	Akbar	125,125*a*, 126
,,	—	——	,,	Ahmadábád	,,	127
,,	—	——	,,	Urdú	,,	128
,,	—	——	,,	Lahore	,,	129, 130
,,	—	——	,,	Patnah	,,	131
,,	—	——	Æ	——	,,	265, 267
,,	—	——	,,	Fathpúr	,,	266
988	—	——	Æ	,,	,,	69
,,	—	——	,,	Lahore	,,	70
,,	—	——	,,	——	,,	71, 72
,,	—	——	Æ	Lahore	,,	133
,,	—	——	,,	Fathpúr	,,	134, 135
,,	—	——	,,	——	,,	136
,,	—	——	Æ	Fathpúr	,,	268
989	—	——	Æ	Lahore	,,	137
,,	—	——	,,	Fathpúr	,,	138, 139
98*x*	—	——	Æ	Ahmadábád	,,	269
,,	—	——	,,	Jaunpúr	,,	270
990	—	——	Æ	——	,,	140
[991]	28	——	,,	Pesháwar?	,,	177
992	—	——	,,	——	,,	141
,,	—	——	,,	——	,,	252*a*
993	—	——	,,	——	,,	142
[,,]	30	Dai	,,	Ahmadábád	,,	178
[,,]	,,	Mardád	,,	,,	,,	179
994	—	——	,,	——	,,	143
,,	—	——	Æ	Dógám	,,	271
[,,]	31	Mihr	,,	Alláhábád	,,	273
995	—	——	Æ	——	,,	144, 145
[,,]	32	——	Æ	——	,,	163
[,,]	,,	——	Æ	——	,,	180
[,,]	,,	——	Æ	Kábul	,,	274
[996]	33	——	Æ	——	,,	181
[,,]	,,	——	Æ	Kábul	,,	274*a*
997	—	——	Æ	——	,,	146, 147, 252*b*
[,,]	34	——	,,	——	,,	182-84
998	—	——	,,	——	,,	148, 149
[,,]	35	Ardibihist	,,	——	,,	185
[,,]	,,	Amardád	,,	——	,,	186
999	—	——	,,	——	,,	150
[,,]	36	Abán	,,	Lahore	,,	187
[,,]	,,	Bahman	,,	,,	,,	188
[,,]	,,	——	,,	Tattah	,,	189
[,,]	,,	Dai	Æ	Lahore	,,	275
[,,]	,,	——	,,	Nárnól?	,,	276
9*xx*	—	——	,,	Gwálior	,,	272

Year A.H	Regnal year.	MONTH.	Metal.	MINT.	EMPEROR.	NO.
1000	—	——	Ⱥ	{ Urdú-Zafar-Karín }	Akbar	73-82
,,	—	——	Ⱥ	,,	,,	151-59
,,	—	——	Æ	,,	,,	273
[,,]	37	——	Ⱥ	——	,,	190
[,,]	,,	——	,,	Ahmadábád	,,	191
[,,]	,,	Dai	Æ	Multán	,,	277
[1001]	38	——	Ⱥ	Ahmadábád	,,	192
[,,]	,,	Bahman	,,	,,	,,	193
[,,]	,,	Tír	,,	Lahore	,,	194
[,,]	,,	Farwardín	,,	,,	,,	195
[,,]	,,	Ardibihist	,,	,,	,,	196
[,,]	,,	Shahriwar	Æ	Gwálior	,,	278
[1002]	39	Azur	Ⱥ	Lahore	,,	198
[,,]	,,	Farwardín	Æ	,,	,,	279
[1003]	40	Khúrdád	Ⱥ	Tattah	,,	199
[,,]	,,	Bahman	,,	,,	,,	200
[,,]	,,	,,	,,	——	,,	201
[,,]	,,	——	,,	——	,,	202
[1004]	41	Khúrdád	,,	Ahmadábád	,,	203
[,,]	,,	Isfandármiz	,,	Lahore	,,	204
[,,]	,,	——	,,	——	,,	205
[1005]	42	Bahman	Ⱥ	Agrah	,,	164
,,	,,	Khúrdád	Ⱥ	Ahmadábád	,,	206
,,	,,	Tír	,,	,,	,,	207
,,	,,	Abán	,,	,,	,,	208
,,	,,	Shahriwar	,,	Patnah	,,	209
,,	,,	——	,,	,,	,,	210
,,	,,	Tír	,,	Lahore	,,	211
,,	,,	Bahman	,,	,,	,,	212
,,	,,	Tír	,,	Dehlí ?	,,	213
,,	,,	——	,,	——	,,	214
[1006]	43	Khúrdád	,,	Patnah	,,	215
,,	,,	Bahman	,,	,,	,,	216
,,	,,	——	,,	——	,,	217
,,	,,	Shahriwar	,,	——	,,	218
,,	,,	Tír	Æ	Lahore	,,	279*a*
[1007]	44	Ardibihist	Ⱥ	Agrah	,,	165
,,	,,	Amardád	Ⱥ	Ahmadábád	,,	219
,,	,,	Shahriwar	,,	Patnah	,,	220
,,	,,	Abán	,,	Kábul	,,	221
,,	,,	Ardibihist	,,	Lahore	,,	222
,,	,,	Shahriwar	,,	,,	,,	223
,,	,,	Abán	,,	,,	,,	224
,,	,,	Azur	,,	,,	,,	225
,,	,,	Amardád	Æ	Bairátah	,,	280-81*a*
[1005-7]	42-4	Dai	,,	Dehlí	,,	282
[1008]	45	Isfandármiz	Ⱥ	Asír	,,	166

Year A.H.	Regnal year.	MONTH.	Metal.	MINT.	EMPEROR.	NO.
[1008]	45	Dai	Æ	Kábul	Akbar	226
,,	,,	,,	,,	Lahore	,,	227
,,	,,	Bahman	,,	,,	,,	228
[1009]	46	Tír	,,	Ahmadábád	,,	229
,,	,,	Azur	,,	Patnah	,,	230
,,	,,	Dai	,,	Kábul	,,	231
,,	,,	Khúrdád	,,	Lahore	,,	232
,,	,,	Azur	,,	,,	,,	233
,,	,,	Dai	,,	,,	,,	234
,,	,,	Abán	Æ	Agrah	,,	283
[1010]	47	Bahman	Æ	Ahmadábád	,,	235
,,	,,	Mihr	,,	,,	,,	236
,,	,,	Azur	,,	Kábul	,,	237
,,	,,	Khúrdád	,,	Lahore	,,	238
,,	,,	Abán	,,	,,	,,	239
,,	,,	Dai	,,	,,	,,	240
,,	,,	Ardibihist	Æ	Agrah	,,	284
,,	,,	Tír	,,	,,	,,	285
,,	,,	Abán	,,	,,	,,	286
[1011]	48	Mihr	Æ	Burhánpúr	,,	241
,,	,,	Dai	,,	,,	,,	197
,,	,,	Amardád	,,	Lahore	,,	242
,,	,,	Abán	,,	,,	,,	243-44*a*
[1012]	49	Farwardín	Æ	Agrah	,,	167
,,	,,	Amardád	,,	,,	,,	168
,,	,,	Azur	,,	,,	,,	169
,,	,,	Abán	Æ	Kábul	,,	245
,,	,,	Dai	,,	,,	,,	246
,,	,,	Ardibihist	,,	Lahore	,,	247
,,	,,	Abán	,,	,,	,,	248
,,	,,	Farwardín	,,	Patnah ?	,,	249
[10*xx*]	4*x*	——	Æ	Agrah	,,	287
[1013]	50	Amardád	Æ	,,	,,	170
,,	,,	Khúrdád	,,	,,	,,	173-74
,,	,,	Amardád	,,	Lahore	,,	171
,,	,,	Farwardín	,,	——	,,	172
,,	,,	mardád	Æ	Agrah	,,	250
,,	,,	Farwardín	,,	Lahore	,,	251
,,	,,	Shahriwar	Æ	Agrah	,,	287*a*
[1014]	51	——	Æ	,,	,,	175
x	2	Farwardín	Æ	Ahmadábád	Salím [Jahángír] as Governor	288
x	,,	Khúrdád	,,	,,	,,	289
1014	1	——	,,	Agrah	Jahángír	402, 403
,,	——	——	,,	Akbarnagar	,,	404
,,	1	——	,,	Kábul	,,	405
1015	—	——	Æ	Agrah	,,	290

Year A.H.	Regnal year.	MONTH.	Metal.	MINT.	EMPEROR.	NO.
1015	1	——	*N*	Lahore	Jahángír	291-93
,,	1	——	*R*	Kábul	,,	406
,,	,,	Amardád	,,	,,	,,	407
,,	,,	——	,,	Agrah	,,	408
,,	1	——	,,	Akbarnagar	,,	410
,,	——	——	,,	,,	,,	412
,,	1	——	,,	Lahore	,,	414
,,	2	——	,,	Agrah	,,	409
,,	,,	——	,,	Ahmadábád	,,	411
,,	,,	Isfandármiz	,,	Patnah	,,	413
,,	,,	——	,,	Lahore	,,	415, 416
1016	,,	——	,,	Ahmadábád	,,	417
,,	,,	——	,,	Lahore	,,	420
,,	3	——	*N*	,,	,,	294
,,	,,	——	*R*	,,	,,	421, 422
,,	——	——	,,	Akbarnagar	,,	418, 419
1017	4	——	*N*	Agrah	,,	295
,,	,,	——	*R*	,,	,,	423
,,	5	——	,,	Lahore	,,	424
1018	,,	——	*N*	Agrah	,,	296
,,	,,	——	*R*	Ahmadábád	,,	425
,,	,,	——	,,	Agrah	,,	426, 427
,,	,,	——	,,	Patnah	,,	428
,,	(4 *sic*)	——	,,	Lahore	,,	429
,,	5	——	,,	,,	,,	430, 431
1019	,,	Isfandármiz	,,	Agrah	,,	432
,,	——	——	,,	Kashmír	,,	433
,,	5	——	,,	Lahore	,,	434-36
,,	,,	Bahman	,,	,,	,,	437, 438
,,	,,	——	,,	——	,,	438*a*
1020	6	Mihr	*N*	Agrah	,,	297
,,	,,	——	,,	——	,,	312-16
,,	,,	Abán	*R*	Agrah	,,	439
,,	,,	——	,,	Kandahár	,,	440
1021	,,	Isfandármiz	,,	Agrah	,,	441
,,	7	Mihr	*N*	,,	,,	298
,,	,,	Dai	,,	,,	,,	299
,,	,,	——	,,	——	,,	317
,,	,,	Ardibihist	*R*	Agrah	,,	442
,,	,,	Shahriwar	,,	Patnah	,,	443
,,	,,	Mihr	,,	Dehlí	,,	444
,,	,,	——	,,	Kandahár	,,	445, 446
[,,]	,,	Farwardín	,,	Lahore	,,	447
,,	,,	Amardád	,,	,,	,,	448
,,	,,	Isfandármiz	,,	,,	,,	449
,,	,,	——	*Æ*	Agrah	,,	512
1022	8	Ardibihist	*N*	,,	,,	300
,,	,,	——	*R*	Kandahár	,,	450

Year A.H.	Regnal year.	MONTH.	ZODIACAL SIGN.	Metal.	MINT.	EMPEROR.	NO.
1023	8	——		*N*	Ajmír	Jahángír	318
,,	,,	Ardibihist		*R*	Kandahár	,,	451
[,,]	,,	Dai		,,	Lahore	,,	452
,,	9	——		*N*	Ajmír	,,	319-21
,,	,,	Khúrdád		*R*	Agrah	,,	453
,,	,,	Tír		,,	Kandahár	,,	454
[,,]	,,	Ardibihist		,,	Lahore	,,	455
[,,]	,,	Tír		,,	,,	,,	456
[1024]	10	Dai		,,	,,	,,	457
1024	,,	Ardibihist		*N*	Agrah	,,	301
1025	—	——		,,	Ajmír	,,	302
,,	11	Abán		,,	Agrah	,,	303
,,	,,	Shahriwar		*R*	,,	,,	458, 459
,,	,,	——		,,	Ajmír	,,	460
,,	—	Abán		,,	Ahmadábád	,,	461
,,	—	——		,,	Kashmír	,,	462
,,	11	——		,,	Lahore	,,	463
1026	,,	Dai		,,	Agrah	,,	464
,,	12	Mihr		*N*	,,	,,	304
,,	,,	Tír		*R*	,,	,,	465
,,	—	Azur		,,	Ahmadábád	,,	466
,,	12	Shahriwar		,,	Patnah	,,	467
,,	,,	Khúrdád		,,	Tattah	,,	468
,,	,,	——		,,	Lahore	,,	469
,,	,,	——		,,	Kandahár	,,	470, 471
1027	,,	Shahriwar		,,	Kábul	,,	473
,,	13	——		,,	Kandahár	,,	472
,,	,,	Abán		,,	Agrah	,,	474
,,	,,	——		,,	Ahmadábád	,,	475
,,	,,	Abán		,,	Patnah	,,	476
,,	,,	——		,,	Lahore	,,	477
,,	,,	——	Aries	,,	Ahmadábád	,,	361-63
,,	,,	——	Taurus	,,	,,	,,	364, 365
,,	,,	——	Gemini	,,	,,	,,	368, 369
,,	,,	——	Cancer	,,	,,	,,	370, 371
,,	,,	——	Leo	,,	,,	,,	372, 373
,,	,,	——	,,	,,	,,	,,	385
,,	—	——	Scorpio	,,	,,	,,	374
1028	13	——	Pisces	*N*	Agrah	,,	358
,,	14	——	——	,,	,,	,,	305
,,	,,	——	——	,,	Ahmadábád	,,	306
,,	—	——	——	*R*	,,	,,	478
,,	14	Khúrdád	——	,,	Patnah	,,	479
,,	,,	Amardád	——	,,	,,	,,	480
,,	,,	——	——	,,	Kandahár	,,	481, 482
,,	,,	——	Aries	*N*	Agrah	,,	322
,,	,,	——	,,	*R*	,,	,,	386
,,	,,	——	Taurus	*N*	,,	,,	324-26

Year A.H.	Regnal year.	MONTH.	ZODIACAL SIGN.	Metal.	MINT.	EMPEROR.	NO.
1028	14	——	Taurus	Æ	Agrah	Jahángír	387
,,	—	——	Cancer	Æ	,,	,,	376
,,	14	——	Leo	,,	,,	,,	334
,,	,,	——	Virgo	,,	,,	,,	338
,,	,,	——	,,	,,	,,	,,	378
,,	,,	——	Libra	,,	,,	,,	342
,,	12	——	Scorpio	,,	,,	,,	380
,,	,,	——	,,	Æ	,,	,,	397
,,	14	——	Capricornus	Æ	,,	,,	350
,,	13	——	Aquarius	,,	,,	,,	383
,,	,,	——	,,	Æ	,,	,,	400
,,	,,	——	Pisces	Æ	,,	,,	384
,,	,,	——	,,	Æ	,,	,,	401
1029	14	——	——	,,	Ahmadábád	,,	483
,,	,,	——	——	,,	Kandahár	,,	486
,,	,,	——	Capricornus	Æ	Agrah	,,	351
,,	,,	——	,,	Æ	,,	,,	375
,,	15	——	Taurus	,,	,,	,,	366
,,	,,	——	Gemini	Æ	,,	,,	330
,,	,,	——	Cancer	,,	,,	,,	333*a*, *b*
,,	,,	——	Gemini	Æ	,,	,,	388, 389
,,	,,	——	Leo	Æ	,,	,,	335
,,	16	——	,,	Æ	,,	,,	391
,,	15	——	——	Æ	Ahmadábád	,,	307
,,	,,	——	——	Æ	,,	,,	484
,,	,,	Shahriwar	——	,,	Patnah	,,	485
,,	,,	——	——	,,	Kandahár	,,	487
,,	,,	——	——	,,	Lahore	,,	488
1030	,,	——	——	,,	Kandahár	,,	490
,,	16	Shahriwar	——	,,	Patnah	,,	489
,,	,,	——	——	,,	Lahore	,,	491
,,	,,	——	Aries	Æ	Agrah	,,	323
,,	,,	——	Taurus	,,	,,	,,	327, 328
,,	,,	——	Cancer	,,	,,	,,	333*c*
,,	,,	——	Virgo	,,	,,	,,	339
,,	,,	——	Libra	,,	,,	,,	343
,,	—	——	Scorpio	,,	,,	,,	346
,,	16	——	,,	,,	,,	,,	346*a*
,,	—	——	Capricornus	,,	,,	,,	352
1031	16	——	——	Æ	Ahmadábád	,,	492, 493
,,	,,	——	——	,,	Lahore	,,	494
,,	,,	——	Gemini	Æ	Agrah	,,	331
,,	,,	——	Virgo	,,	,,	,,	340
,,	,,	——	Sagittarius	,,	,,	,,	348
,,	,,	——	Capricornus	,,	,,	,,	353, 382
,,	,,	——	Aquarius	,,	,,	,,	355
,,	17	——	Cancer	Æ	,,	..	390

Years. A.H.	Regnal year.	MONTH.	ZODIACAL SIGN.	Metal.	MINT.	EMPEROR.	NO.
1031	17	——	Leo	*N*	Agrah	Jahángír	336, 337
,,	,,	——	Libra	*R*	,,	,,	396
,,	,,	——	Pisces	*N*	,,	,,	359
,,	,,	——	——	*R*	Lahore	,,	495
1032	,,	——	——	,,	,,	,,	496
,,	——	——	Leo	*N*	Agrah	,,	377
,,	17	——	Scorpio	,,	,,	,,	347
,,	18	——	Libra	*R*	,,	,,	395
,,	17	——	Capricornus	*N*	,,	,,	354
,,	,,	——	Sagittarius	,,	,,	,,	349
,,	18	——	Taurus	,,	,,	,,	329
,,	,,	——	Gemini	,,	,,	,,	332
,,	,,	——	Libra	,,	,,	,,	344
,,	,,	——	Aquarius	,,	,,	,,	356
1033	,,	Isfandármiz	——	*R*	Patnah	,,	497
,,	,,	——	——	,,	Súrat	,,	498
,,	,,	——	——	,,	Lahore	,,	499
,,	19	——	——	,,	Súrat	Jahángír & Núr-Jahán	514
,,	,,	——	Gemini	*N*	Agrah	Jahángír	333
,,	,,	——	,,	*R*	,,	,,	367
,,	——	——	Leo	,,	,,	,,	392
,,	19	——	Virgo	*N*	,,	,,	341
,,	17	——	,,	,,	,,	,,	379
,,	,,	——	,,	*R*	,,	,,	393, 394
,,	19	——	Libra	*N*	,,	,,	345
,,	18	——	Capricornus	*R*	,,	,,	399
,,	17	——	Sagittarius	*N*	,,	,,	381
,,	,,	——	,,	*R*	,,	,,	398
,,	18	——	Pisces	*N*	,,	,,	360
[1033-4]	,,	Isfandármiz	——	,,	Jahángírnagar	,,	308
,,	,,	Shahriwar	——	*R*	,,	,,	501
1034	,,	——	——	,,	Lahore	,,	500
,,	——	——	——	,,	Ahmadábád	Jahángír & Núr-Jahán	515
,,	——	——	——	,,	Lahore	,, ,,	518
,,	20	——		,,	,,	,, ,,	516, 517
,,	,,	——		,,	Súrat	,, ,,	519
1035	,,	Bahman		*N*	Patnah	Jahángír	309
,,	21	——		*R*	Agrah	,,	502
[,,]	,,	Abán		,,	Ahmadábád	,,	503
,,	,,	——		,,	Lahore	,,	504
,,	,,	——		,,	Súrat	Jahángír & Núr-Jahán	520
1036	,,	——		*R*	Lahore	Jahángír	505
,,	22	——		*N*	,,	,,	310
,,	,,	——		*R*	,,	,,	506
,,	,,	Farwardín		,,	Patnah	,,	507

Years. A.H.	Regnal year.	MONTH.	Metal.	MINT.	EMPEROR.	NO.
1036	—	——	*N*	Súrat	{ Jahángír & Núr-Jahán }	513
„	—	——	*R*	„	„ „	521
1037	22	——	„	Ahmadábád	„ „	522
„	„	——	„	Agrah	„ „	523, 524
[„]	„	——	„	Patnah	„ „	525, 526
„	„	——	„	Lahore	Jahángír	508
10*xx*	—	Farwardín	„	Kandahár	„	511
1037	1	——	„	Lahore	Dáwar Bakhsh	527
„	1	——	„	„	Sháh-Jáhan	578
„	„	——	„	Agrah	„	579
„	„	——	„	Burhánpúr	„	580
1038	„	——	„	Agrah	„	581
„	„	——	„	Súrat	„	585, 586
„	2	Ardibihist	*N*	Ahmadábád	„	528
„	„	Khúrdád	„	„	„	529
[„]	„	——	„	Daulatábád	„	530
„	„	——	*R*	Agrah	„	582
„	„	Tír	„	Akbarábád	„	583
„	„	„	„	Patnah	„	584
1039	„	Abán	*N*	Lahore	„	531
„	„	——	*R*	Akbarábád	„	588
„	„	——	„	Akbarnagar	„	589
„	„	Azur	„	Patnah	„	590
„	„	Abán	„	Lahore	„	591
„	3	——	„	Multán	„	592
1040	„	Amardád	„	Patnah	„	596
„	„	Bahman	„	„	„	597
„	„	——	„	Lahore	„	599
„	„	——	„	Multán	„	600
„	„	Dai	„	Dehlí	„	603
„	—	——	„	Burhánpúr	„	595
„	—	——	„	Súrat	„	598
„	4	Farwardín	*N*	Ahmadábád	„	532
[„]	„	„	„	Súrat	„	533
„	„	——	*R*	Akbarábád	„	593-94
„	„	——	„	Multán	„	601-2
1041	„	——	„	Akbarábád	„	604
„	„	Azur	„	Alláhábád	„	606
„	„	Tír	„	Patnah	„	607
„	„	Azur	„	„	„	608
„	„	Dai	„	„	„	609
„	„	——	„	Dehlí	„	610
„	„	——	„	Lahore	„	611
„	5	——	*R*	Akbarábád	„	605
„	„	——	„	Lahore	„	612
1042	—	——	*N*	Akbarábád	„	534
[„]	5	——	„	„	„	535

Years. A.H.	Regnal year.	MONTH.	Metal.	MINT.	EMPEROR.	NO.
1042	5	——	*N*	Lahore	Sháh-Jahán	536
,,	,,	——	*R*	Akbarábád	,,	613
,,	,,	——	,,	Multán	,,	614
,,	,,	——	,,	,,	,,	619, 620
,,	6	——	,,	Akbarábád	,,	615
,,	,,	——	,,	Burhánpúr	,,	616
,,	,,	——	,,	Patnah	,,	617
,,	——	——	,,	Súrat	,,	618
1043	6	——	*N*	Akbarábád	,,	537-39
,,	,,	——	,,	Burhánpúr	,,	540
,,	——	——	,,	Akbarábád	,,	541
[,,]	6	——	,,	——	,,	542
,,	,,	——	*R*	Akbarábád	,,	621-22
[,,]	,,	——	,,	Alláhábád	,,	623
[,,]	,,	——	,,	Patnah	,,	624
,,	,,	——	,,	Bhakar	,,	625-26
[,,]	,,	——	,,	Súrat	,,	627
,,	,,	——	,,	Multán	,,	628
,,	7	Farwardín	,,	Akbarnagar	,,	629
,,	,,	——	,,	Súrat	,,	630
1044	——	——	*N*	——	,,	543
,,	7	——	*R*	Ahmadábád	,,	631
,,	,,	——	,,	Lahore	,,	632
,,	8	——	,,	Akbarábád	,,	633
1045	,,	——	*N*	Ahmadábád	,,	544
,,	,,	——	,,	Akbarábád	,,	545
,,	,,	——	*R*	Bhakar	,,	634
,,	,,	——	,,	Patnah	,,	635
,,	,,	——	,,	Súrat	,,	636
,,	9	——	,,	Multán	,,	637
1046	,,	——	*N*	Akbarábád	,,	546
,,	,,	——	*R*	Súrat	,,	638-39
,,	,,	——	,,	Lahore	,,	640
,,	,,	——	,,	Jahángírnagar	,,	641
1047	10	——	,,	Akbarábád	,,	642
,,	,,	Khúrdád	,,	Tattah	,,	643
,,	,,	Tír	,,	,,	,,	644
,,	11	——	,,	Lahore	,,	645
,,	,,	——	*N*	Akbarábád	,,	547
1048	,,	——	,,	,,	,,	543
,,	,,	——	*R*	Multán	,,	648
,,	12	——	,,	Jahángírnagar	,,	646
,,	,,	——	,,	Kandahár	,,	647
,,	——	——	,,	——	,,	649
1049	12	——	*N*	——	,,	549
,,	,,	——	*R*	Súrat	,,	650
,,	13	——	,,	Lahore	,,	651
1050	,,	——	*N*	Akbarábád	,,	550

Years. A.H.	Regnal year.	MONTH.	Metal.	MINT.	EMPEROR.	NO.
1050	14	——	Ⱥ	Akbarábád	Sháh-Jahán	551
,,	—	——	,,	Daulatábád	,,	552
1051	14	——	,,	,,	,,	553
,,	15	——	,,	Akbarábád	,,	554
,,	—	——	,,	Burhánpúr	,,	555
,,	—	——	Ⱥ	Súrat	,,	652
1052	16	——	Ⱥ	Akbarábád	,,	556
1053	,,	——	,,	,,	,,	557
[1054]	17	——	Ⱥ	——	,,	653
1054	—	——	,,	——	,,	654
1055	18	——		Akbarnagar	,,	655
1056	19	——	Ⱥ	Akbarábád	,,	558
,,	,,	——	Ⱥ	,,	,,	656
,,	,,	——	,,	Daulatábád	,,	657
[,,]	,,	——	,,	Kandahár	,,	658
1057	20	——	,,	Súrat	,,	659
,,	21	——	Ⱥ	Akbarábád	,,	559, 560
,,	,,	——	Ⱥ	Súrat	,,	660
[,,]	,,	——	,,	——	,,	661
1058	22	Shahriwar	,,	Tattah	,,	663
,,	—	(*Months are*	,,	Súrat	,,	662
[,,]	22	*not recorded*	,,	Patnah	,,	664
[1059]	23	*after this.*)	Ⱥ	Akbarábád	,,	561
1059	,,		Ⱥ	,,	,,	665
,,	—		,,	Junahgarh	,,	666
1060	23		Ⱥ	Burhánpúr	,,	562
,,	—		Ⱥ	Junahgarh	,,	667
,,	23		,,	Daulatábád ?	,,	668
,,	24		,,	Sháhjahánábád	,,	669
1061	25		Ⱥ	Burhánpúr	,,	563
,,	,,		,,	Akbarábád	,,	564
[,,]	,,		Ⱥ	Patnah	,,	670
,,	,,		,,	Kashmír	,,	671
[,,]	,,		,,	——	,,	672
1062	26		Ⱥ	Akbarábád	,,	565
1063	27		,,	Daulatábád	,,	566
1064	28		Ⱥ	Súrat	,,	673
,,	,,		Ⱥ	Akbarábád	,,	567
1066	29		Ⱥ	Multán	,,	674
,,	30		Ⱥ	Sháhjahánábád	,,	568
[,,]	,,		Ⱥ	Súrat	,,	675
1067	,,		Ⱥ	Daulatábád	,,	569
,,	31		Ⱥ	,,	,,	676, 677
,,	,,		,,	Sháhjahánábád	,,	678
,,	,,		,,	Súrat	,,	679
1068	,,		Ⱥ	Multán	,,	570
,,	,,		,,	Daulatábád	,,	571
,,	,,		Ⱥ	Súrat	,,	680

Year. A.H.	Regnal year.	Metal.	MINT.	EMPEROR.	NO.
1068	32	*Ⱥ*	Akbarábád	Sháh-Jahán	572
,,	,,	,,	Daulatábád	,,	573
,,	,,	,,	Multán	,,	574
,,	3[2]	,,	Burhánpúr	,,	575
,,	32	*Ⱥ*	Sháhjahánábád	,,	681
[,,]	,,	,,	Ahmadábád	,,	682
,,	,,	,,	Daulatábád	,,	683, 684
[,,]	,,	,,	Súrat	,,	685
[,,]	,,	,,	,,	,,	686
1068	—	,,	Akbarábád	Shujá'	690
,,	1	,,	Jalúnábád ?	,,	691
,,	,,	*Ⱥ*	Ahmadábád	Murád Bakhsh	692
,,	,,	*Ⱥ*	,,	,,	693-95
,,	,,	,,	Súrat	,,	696-99
[,,]	,,	,,	Cambay	,,	700
1069	32	,,	——	Sháh-Jahán	687
,,	—	*Ⱥ*	Sháhjahánábád	Anonymous	689
,,	1	*Ⱥ*	Golkondah	Aurangzíb	726
[,,]	,,	,,	Akbarábád	,,	725
[,,]	,,	,,	Kábul	,,	727
1070	,,	,,	Patnah	,,	728
,, (*sic*)	3	,,	Multán	,,	729
1071	,,	,,	Aurangábád	,,	730
,,	,,	,,	Súrat	,,	731
,,	4	,,	——	,,	732
,,	,,	,,	Akbarábád	,,	733
,,	—	,,	Júnahgarh	,,	734
1072	5	*Ⱥ*	Tattah	,,	701
,,	—	*Ⱥ*	Súrat ?	,,	735
1073	5	,,	Multán	,,	736
,,	,,	,,	——	,,	737
1074	6	*Ⱥ*	Aurangábád	,,	702
,,	,,	*Ⱥ*	Júnahgarh	,,	738-39
1075	8	*Ⱥ*	Multán	,,	703
,,	—	*Ⱥ*	Súrat	,,	740
1076	8	,,	,,	,,	741
,,	,,	,,	Multán	,,	742
[,,]	9	,,	Akbarnagar	,,	742*a*
,,	,,	,,	Sháhjahánábád	,,	743
1077	,,	*Ⱥ*	Multán	,,	704
,,	,,	*Ⱥ*	Súrat	,,	744
,,	—	,,	Akbarábád	,,	745
1079	11	*Ⱥ*	Aurangábád	,,	705
[1080]	12	,,	Akbarnagar	,,	706
1081	—	*Ⱥ*	Súrat	,,	746
1082	13	,,	,,	,,	747
(1076 *sic*)	14	,,	Golkondah	,,	748
[1083]	15	,,	,,	,,	749

Years. A.H.	Regnal year.	Metal.	MINT.	EMPEROR.	NO.
[1083]	16	Ⱥ	Súrat	Aurangzíb	707
(1076 *sic*)	,,	Ⱥ	Golkondah	,,	751
[1084]	,,	,,	Súrat	,,	750
,,	—	,,	,,	,,	750*a*
1085	—	,,	Júnahgarh	,,	752
1086	20	Ⱥ	Golkondah	,,	708
1088	,,	Ⱥ	Aurangábád	,,	753
1089	21	,,	Súrat	,,	754
(1076 *sic*)	,,	,,	Golkondah	,,	755
1089	22	,,	——	,,	756
1090	—	,,	Júnahgarh	,,	757
,,	22	,,	Súrat	,,	758
,,	23	,,	,,	,,	759
,,	,,	,,	Patnah ?	,,	760
1091	,,	,,	Súrat	,,	761
,,	24	,,	,,	,,	762
,,	,,	,,	Bíjápúr	,,	763
,,	,,	Ⱥ	Sháhjahánábád	,,	709
1092	,,	Ⱥ	——	,,	764
1093	25	,,	Súrat	,,	765-66
[,,]	,,	,,	——	,,	767
1094	27	,,	Súrat	,,	768
1095	,,	,,	,,	,,	769
1096	28	,,	[Júnahgarh]	,,	770
,,	29	,,	Súrat	,,	771
,,	—	,,	'Alamgírpúr	,,	772
1097	29	Ⱥ	Ahmadnagar	,,	710
,,	,,	Ⱥ	Súrat	,,	773
1098	30	,,	Burhánpúr	,,	774
,,	,,	,,	Súrat	,,	775
,,	,,	,,	Lahore	,,	776
,,	3[illegible]	,,	Nárnól	,,	777
,,	31	,,	Golkondah	,,	778
1099	,,	Ⱥ	Bíjápúr	,,	711
[,,]	,,	,,	Golkondah	,,	712
,,	32	Ⱥ	Jahángírnagar	,,	779
,,	,,	,,	Súrat	,,	779*a*
1100	,,	Ⱥ	Sháhjahánábád	,,	713
,,	,,	Ⱥ	Súrat	,,	780
,,	,,	,,	Zafarpúr	,,	781
[,,]	,,	,,	Kábul	,,	782
,,	33	,,	Etáwah	,,	783
1101	34	Ⱥ	Sháhjahánábád	,,	714
,,	,,	Ⱥ	Súrat	,,	784
1102	,,	,,	Cambay	,,	785
,,	,,	,,	Nárnól	,,	786
,,	35	,,	Etáwah	,,	787

Year. A.H.	Regnal year.	Metal.	MINT.	EMPEROR.	NO.
1103	35	*N*	Chínápatan	Aurangzíb	715
[„]	„	*R*	„	„	788
„	„	„	Akbarábád	„	789
„	„	„	Súrat	„	790
[„]	„	„	Lucknow	„	791
1104	36	„	Etáwah	„	792, 792*a*
„	„	„	Lucknow	„	793
„	„	„	Súrat	„	794
1105	37	„	Bíjápúr	„	795
„	„	„	Súrat	„	796, 796*a*
„	38	„	Etáwah	„	797
„	„	„	Ajmír	„	798
„	„	„	Lahore	„	799
1106	„	*N*	Sháhjahánábád	„	716
„	„	*R*	Etáwah	„	800
„	„	„	Patnah	„	801
„	„	„	Lahore	„	802
1107	39	„	Etáwah	„	803
„	„	„	Barailí	„	804
„	40	„	Bíjápúr	„	806
„	„	*N*	„	„	717
„	„	*R*	Barailí	„	807
„	„	„	Zafarábád	„	808
1108	„	„	Ahmadnagar	„	809
„	„	„	Súrat	„	810
„	41	„	Etáwah	„	811
„	„	„	Khujistah-bunyád	„	812
„	„	„	Ajmír	„	813
„	„	„	Lahore	„	814
[„]	„	„	Chínápatan	„	815
1109	„	*N*	——	„	718
„	$4\frac{1}{2}$	„	Khujistah-bunyád	„	719
„	„	*R*	Cambay	„	816
„	42	„	Akbarábád	„	817, 818
„	$4\frac{1}{2}$	„	Júnahgarh	„	819
1111	43	*N*	Burhánpúr	„	720
„	4[3]	„	[Chíná]patan	„	721
„	43	*R*	Barailí	„	820
„	„	„	Cambay	„	821
„	44	„	Masulipatan	„	822
1112	„	*N*	Bíjápúr	„	722
„	„	*R*	Akbarábád	„	823
„	45	„	Etáwá	„	824
1113	„	„	Burhánpúr	„	825
„	„	„	Barailí	„	826
1114	46	„	Ajmír	„	827
[„]	„	„	Akbarábád	„	828, 828*a*
„	47	„	Etáwah	„	829

Year. A.H.	Regnal year.	Metal.	MINT.	EMPEROR.	NO.
1114	47	Æ	Lahore	Aurangzíb	830
1115	„	Æ	Burhánpúr	„	723
„	„	Æ	Etáwah	„	831
„	„	„	Súrat	„	832
„	48	„	Sháhjahánábád	„	833
1116	„	„	Akbarábád	„	834
„	49	„	Etáwá	„	835
„	„	„	Baraili	„	836
„	„	„	Súrat	„	837
1117	„	„	Akbarábád	„	838
„	„	„	Súrat	„	839
„	50	„	Etáwá	„	841
1118	„	Æ	„	„	724
„	„	Æ	„	„	842
[„]	51	„	Akbarábád	„	843
„	„	„	Sháhjahánábád	„	844
[„]	„	„	Lucknow	„	846
„	1	Æ	Khujistah-bunyád	A'zam	847
„	„	„	——	„	848
1119	51	Æ	Sháhjahánábád	Aurangzíb	845
„	1	Æ	Burhánpúr	A'zam	849
„	„	Æ	„	„	851
„	„	„	Ahmadábád	„	850
„	„	„	Ajmír	Bahádur	866
„	„	„	Sháhjahánábád	„	867
1120	2	Æ	Haidarábád	Kám Bakhsh	852
„	„	Æ	Bíjápúr	„	853
„	„	Æ	Pesháwar	Bahádur	854
„	„	„	Khujistah-bunyád	„	855
„	„	„	Sháhjahánábád	„	856
„	„	„	Burhánpúr	„	857
„	„	„	Lahore	„	858
„	„	„	——	„	859
„	„	Æ	'Azímábád	„	868
„	„	„	Akbarábád	„	869-70
„	„	„	Lahore	„	871
1121	—	Æ	Sholápúr	„	860
„	3	Æ	Sháhjahánábád	„	872
„	4	Æ	Khujistah-bunyád	„	861
„	„	Æ	Burhánpúr	„	873
„	„	„	Sholápúr	„	874
1122	—	Æ	Ujjain	„	862
1123	5	„	Akbarábád	„	863
„	„	„	Khujistah-bunyád	„	864
„	6	Æ	Súrat	„	876
1124	1	Æ	Khujistah-bunyád	Jahándár	877-78
„	„	„	Súrat	„	879
„	„	„	Sháhjahánábád	„	880

Year. A.H.	Regnal year.	Metal.	MINT.	EMPEROR.	NO.
1124	1	*R*	Sháhjahánábád	Jahándár	885-86
„	„	„	[Akbarábád]	„	887
[„]	„	*N*	„	„	881-83
„	—	*R*	Sháhjahánábád	„	889
„	1	„	Jahángírnagar	Farrukh-siyar	903
[„]	„	*N*	Murshidábád	„	890
1125	—	„	———	„	900
„	1	*R*	Multán	„	904
„	2	„	Katak	„	907-8
„	„	„	Sháhjahánábád	„	909
„	„	„	Lahore	„	910
[„]	„	„	Akbarábád	„	905
[„]	„	„	Súrat	„	906
[„]	„	„	Multán	„	911
[1126]	3	*N*	Imtiyázgarh	„	900*a*
„	„	*R*	Katak	„	914
[„]	„	„	Akbarábád	„	912
„	„	„	'Azímábád	„	913
1127	4	*N*	Sháhjahánábád	„	891
„	„	*R*	„	„	915-16
„	„	„	Súrat	„	917
1128	5	*N*	Gútí	„	901
„	„	„	Gangpúr	„	902
„	„	*R*	Etáwá	„	918
„	„	„	Akbarábád	„	919
„	„	„	Chínápatan	„	920
[„]	„	„	Súrat	„	921
„	„	„	Sháhjahánábád	„	922-23
1129	„	*N*	Lahore	„	892
[„]	„	„	Baraili	„	893
„	„	*R*	Akbarábád	„	924
„	„	„	Sháhjahánábád	„	925
„	6	„	„	„	926
„	„	„	Gwálior	„	927
„	„	„	Lahore	„	928-29
[„]	„	„	Murshidábád	„	930-31
[„]	„	*N*	Burhánpúr	„	894
1130	7	„	Patnah	„	895
„	„	„	Sháhjahánábád	„	896
„	„	„	Multán	„	897
[„]	„	„	Bíjápúr	„	898
„	„	*R*	Akbarábád	„	932
„	„	„	Arkát	„	933
[„]	„	„	Súrat	„	934
„	„	„	Multán	„	935
1131	8	*N*	Lahore	„	899
„	1	„	Sháhjahánábád	Rafí'-ad-daraj t	937
„	„	„	Mu'azzamábád	„	937*a*

Year. A.H.	Regnal year.	Metal.	MINT.	EMPEROR.	NO.
1131	1	Æ	Akbarábád	Rafí'-ad-daraját	938-39
,,	,,	,,	Sháhjahánábád	,,	940-41
,,	,,	,,	Kúrá	,,	942
,,	,,	,,	Lahore	,,	943
,,	,,	,,	Patnah ?	,,	944
,,	,,	Ⱥ	Sháhjahánábád	Rafí'-ad-daulah	945
,,	—	,,	Khujistah-bunyád	,,	946
,,	1	Æ	Akbarábád	,,	947
,,	,,	,,	Baraili	,,	948
,,	—	,,	Súrat	,,	949
,,	1	,,	'Azímábád	,,	950
,,	,,	,,	Lahore	,,	951
,,	,,	,,	Murshidábád	,,	952
[,,]	,,	Ⱥ	Súrat	Niku-siyar	953
,,	,,	Æ	Munbai	East India Company	App. 68-70
,,	,,	Ⱥ	Khujistah-bunyád	Muhammad	958
1132	,,	,,	Sháhjahánábád	Ibráhim	954-55
,,	,,	Æ	,,	,,	956-57
,,	,,	,,	Akbarábád	Muhammad	978
[1133]	2	,,	Súrat	,,	979
[,,]	,,	,,	Murshidábád	,,	980
1134	3	Ⱥ	Sháhjahánábád	,,	959
[,,]	,,	Æ	Súrat	,,	981
[,,]	4	,,	,,	,,	982
,,	,,	,,	Sháhjahánábád	,,	983
1135	5	,,	,,	,,	984
,,	,,	,,	Akbarnagar Oudh	,,	985
[1135]	6	,,	Akbarábád ?	,,	986
[,,]	,,	,,	Súrat	,,	987
[,,]	,,	,,	Lahore	,,	988
1137	,,	,,	Tattah	,,	989
[,,]	,,	,,	'Azímábád	,,	990
,,	7	,,	Sháhjahánábad	,,	991
[,,]	,,	Ⱥ	,,	,,	960
[,,]	,,	Æ	Munbai	E. I. C.	App. 72
,,	,,	,,	'Azímábád	Muhammad	992
1139	9	Ⱥ	Etáwá	,,	961
,,	,,	Æ	,,	,,	993
1140	,,	,,	,,	,,	994
[,,]	,,	,,	Lahore	,,	995
[,,]	,,	,,	Sháhjahánábád	,,	996
[1141]	10	,,	Akbarábád	,,	997
[,,]	11	Ⱥ	Sháhjahánábád	,,	962-63
,,	,,	Æ	Kúrá	,,	998
1142	,,	,,	Sháhjahánábád	,,	999
,,	12	,,	,,	,,	1000
1143	13	,,	,,	,,	1001

Year A.H.	Regnal Year.	Metal.	MINT.	EMPEROR.	NO.
[1143]	13	Æ	Etáwá	Muhammad	1002
„	1*x*	„	Munbai	E. I. C.	App. 71
[1144]	14	Æ	Sháhjahánábád	Muhammad	964
[„]	„	Æ	Lahore	„	1003
114[5]	15	Æ	Sháhjahánábad	„	965
„	„	Æ	„	„	1004
„	„	„	Súrat	„	1005
114[6]	16	Æ	Sháhjahánábád	„	966
[„]	„	Æ	„	„	1006
[„]	„	„	Lahore	„	1007
1147	17	Æ	Akbarábád	„	967
„	„	Æ	Sháhjahánábád	„	1008-10
1148	1*x*	„	Ajáyúr ?	„	1011
„	18	„	Munbai	E. I. C.	App. 73
[„]	„	„	Sháhjahánábád	Muhammad	1012
[1149]	19	„	„	„	1014
[„]	„	„	Súrat	„	1013
[„]	„	„	Lahore	„	1015
1150	19	„	Islámábád	„	1016
„	20	Æ	Etáwá	„	968
[„]	„	„	Khujistah-bunyád	„	969
„	„	Æ	Benáres	„	1017
[„]	„	„	Lahore	„	1018
1151	21	„	Sháhábád	„	1019
1152	22	Æ	Sháhjahánábád	„	970-71
„	„	Æ	„	„	1020-21
„	„	„	'Azímábád	„	1022-23
1153	23	Æ	Sháhjahánábád	„	972
„	„	Æ	„	„	1024-25
1154	24	„	„	„	1026
„	„	Æ	Kashmír	„	973
1155	25	Æ	Sháhjahánábád	„	1027-28
„	„	Æ	Lahore	„	974
[„]	„	Æ	Farrukhábád	„	1029
[„]	„	„	Murshidábád	„	1030
1156	26	Æ	Etáwá	„	1031
„	„	„	Siwáï-Jaipúr	„	1032
1157	„	Æ	Sháhjahánábád	„	975
„	„	Æ	„	„	1033-34
[„]	27	„	Baraili	„	1035
[1158]	28	„	Sháhjahánábád	„	1036
1158	29	„	Akbarábád	„	1037
1159	„	„	Sháhjahánábád	„	1038
1161	31	Æ	Imtiyázgarh	„	976-77
„	—	„	Sháhjahánábád	Ahmad	1039
„	„	Æ	„	„	1046
„	„	„	'Azímábád	„	1045

Year. A.H.	Regnal Year	Metal.	MINT.	EMPEROR.	NO.
1161	1	Æ	Farrukhábád	Ahmad	1047
1162	2	Æ	Benáres	,,	1040
[,,]	,,	Æ	Akbarábád	,,	1048
,,	,,	,,	Sháhjahánábád	,,	1049
1164	3	,,	,,	,,	1050
,,	4	,,	,,	,,	1051
,,	,,	,,	Benáres	,,	1052
1165	5	,,	Sháhjahánábád	,,	1053-54
[,,]	,,	,,	Murshidábád	,,	1055
1166	6	Æ	Sháhjahánábád	,,	1041-42
[,,]	,,	Æ	,,	,,	1056
1167	,,	,,	Murádábád	,,	1057
[,,]	,,	,,	Murshidábád	,,	1058
,,	7	Æ	Sháhjahánábád	,,	1043
[,,]	1	,,	,,	'Alamgír II.	1059
[,,]	,,	Æ	,,	,,	1071
1168	,,	,,	Murshidábád	,,	1072
,,	2	Æ	Sháhjahánábád	,,	1060-61
,,	,,	Æ	,,	,,	1073-74*a*
1169	,,	,,	——	,,	1075
[,,]	,,	,,	Arkát	French East India Company	App. 127
[1170]	3	,,	Sháhjahánábád	'Alamgír II.	1076
,,	—	Æ	Imtiyázgarh	,,	1068-70*a*
,,	4	,,	Sháhjahánábád	,,	1063-64
,,	,,	Æ	,,	,,	1079-80
[,,]	,,	Æ	Indrapúr	,,	1062
1171	,,	,,	Farrukhábád	,,	1066
,,	,,	Æ	Akbarábád	,,	1077
1168 [,,]	,,	,,	Indrapúr	,,	1078
,,	,,	,,	Murshidábád	,,	1081
,,	5	Æ	Lahore	,,	1065
1172	,,	Æ	Sháhjahánbád	,,	1082
,,	,,	,,	'Azímábád	,,	1083
[,,]	6	Æ	Indrapúr	,,	1067
,,	,,	Æ	Farrukhábád	,,	1084
,,	,,	,,	Lahore	,,	1085
[,,]	,,	,,	Murshidábád	,,	1085*a*
,,	,,	Æ	Arkát	E. I. C.	App. 109-10
,,	,,	Æ	,,	,,	,, 111-126
1173	1	Æ	Islámábád	Sháh-Jahán III.	1086
,,	,,	,,	Farrukhábád	,,	1087
,,	,,	Æ	,,	,,	1088
,,	,,	,,	Ahmadábád	,,	1089
,,	,,	,,	Indrapúr	,,	1090
1174	,,	,,	Sháhjahánábád	,,	1091
,,	,,	,,	Farrukhábád	,,	1092

Year. A.H.	Regnal year	Metal.	MINT.	EMPERORS.	NO.
[1174]	1	Æ	Srínagar	Sháh-'Álam *	1158
[„]	„	„	Lucknow	„	1184
„	2	„	Sháhjahánábád	„	1105
[„]	„	„	Srínagar	„	1159
„	„	Ñ	'Azímábád	„	1166
„	„	Æ	„	„	1168*
[„]	„	„	Murshidábád	„	1186
1175	3	„	Akbarábád	„	1128
1176	„	Ñ	Sháhjahánábád	„	1093
„	4	Æ	Calcutta	E. I. C.	App. 67
[1177]	„	„	Súrat	Sháh-'Álam	1160
[1178]	5	„	„	„	1161-62
[„]	„	„	'Azímábád	„	1169
[„]	„	„	Arkát	French E. I. C.	App. 128
1179	6	„	Farrukhábád	Sháh-'Álam	1172
[„]	„	„	Súrat	„	1163
[„]	„	„	Arkát	French E. I. C.	App. 129
[1180]	7	„	Murshidábád	Sháh-'Álam	1187
„	8	„	„	„	1188
1181	—	Ñ	„	„	1185
[„]	9	Æ	„	„	1196
118[2]	„	Ñ	Munbai	E. I. C.	App. 75, 76
1182	10	„	'Azímábád	Sháh-'Álam	1167
„	„	„	Murshidábád	E. I. C.	App. 1, 2
„	„	Æ	„	„	App. 5-7
1183	„	Ñ	„	„	App. 3, 4
„	„	Æ	Benáres	Sháh-'Álam	1133
„	„	„	Jahángírnagar	„	1157
„	11	„	Murshidábád	E. I. C.	App. 9
1184	„	Ñ	„	„	„ 8
„	„	Æ	„	„	„ 10, 11
„	„	„	„	Sháh-'Álam	1189
1185	10	„	Arkát	French E. I. C.	App. 130
„	12	Ñ	Murshidábád	E. I. C.	„ 15
„	13	Æ	„	„	„ 16
1186	12	„	„	Sháh-'Álam	1190-91
„	—	„	Dilsháddábád	„	1155
„	12	„	Najíbábád	„	1199
„	13	„	Benáres	„	1134
1187	15	Ñ	Murshidábád	E. I. C.	App. 17
[„]	„	Æ	„	Sháh-'Álam	1197
„	„	„	Farrukhábád	„	1173
1188	11	Æ	Calcutta	E. I. C.	App. 150-3
„	9	Æ	Munbai	„	„ 77
„	13	„	Arkát	French E. I. C.	„ 131
[„]	16	„	Ahmadábád	Sháh-'Álam	1121
1189	17	„	Farrukhábád	„	1174
„	„	„	Benáres	„	1135

* A large number of the coins with Sháh-'Álam's name, chiefly those issued by the East India Company, present fictitious dates.

Year A.H.	Regnal year	Metal.	MINT.	EMPEROR.	NO.
119[0]	16 ?	Æ	Arkát	Sháh-'Álam	1122
[„]	18	„	Benáres	„	1136
119x	14	Æ	Bahádurpatan	„	1153
1191	18	Æ	Arkát	„	1123
„	16	„	„	French E. I. C.	App. 132
[„]	18	„	Etáwá	Sháh-'Álam	1117
1192	17	„	Arkát	French E. I. C.	App. 133
[„]	19	„	Benáres	Sháh-'Álam	1137
„	„	„	Farrukhábád	„	1175
[„]	„	„	Murshidábád	„	1192, 1198
1194	21	Æ	Farrukhábád	„	1170
„	„	Æ	Masulipatan	E. I. C.	App. 145
„	22	„	Etáwá	Sháh-'Álam	1118
[„]	„	„	Súrat	„	1164
1195	21	„	Farrukhábád	„	1176
„	22	„	Najíbábád	„	1200
„	„	Æ	Calcutta	E. I. C.	App. 154-63
[„]	23	Æ	Etáwá	Sháh-'Álam	1119
1196	„	„	Benáres	„	1138-41
„	„	Æ	Farrukhábád	„	1171
„	„	Æ	„	„	1177
„	19	Æ	Murshidábád	E. I. C.	App. 18
1197	„	„	„	„	„ 19
„	20	„	Bahádurpatan	Sháh-Álam	1154
„	21	Æ	Masulipatan	E. I. C.	App. 146
1198	25	„	Sháhjahánábád	Sháh-'Álam	1096
[„]	„		Murshidábád	„	1194
„	26	„	Akbarábád	„	1129
„	„	„	Murshidábád	E. I. C.	App. 28
„	19	Æ	„	„	„ 20
„	22	Æ	Arkát	French E. I. C.	„ 134
„	32	„	„	„ „	„ 141
„	21	„	Masulipatan	E. I. C.	„ 147
1199	26	„	Sháhjahánábád	Sháh-Álam	1097
„	„	„	Najíbábád	„	1201
„	27	„	Farrukhábád	„	1178
„	24	„	Arkát	French E. I. C.	App. 135
[1200]	27	„	„	Sháh-'Álam	1124
„	„	Æ	„	E. I. C.	App. 184
„	25	Æ	„	French E. I. C.	„ 136-7
1201	28	„	„	Sháh-'Álam	1125
[„ ?]	„	„	„	French E. I. C.	App. 138
[„]	„	„	Murshidábád	Sháh-'Álam	1195
„	19	Æ	„	E. I. C.	App. 21
1202	30	Æ	Sháhjahábád	Sháh-'Álam	1098
„	19	Æ	Murshidábád	E. I. C.	App. 22, 23, 25, 29-32
„	„	Æ	„	„	App. 35, 36

Year. A.H.	Regnal year.	Metal.	MINT.	EMPEROR.	NO.
1202	1	Ⱥ	Sháhjahánábád	Bídár-Bakht	1206
„	„	Ɍ	„	„	1209
1203	„	Ⱥ	„	„	1207-8
„	30	Ɍ	Benáres	Sháh-'Álam	1143-44
„	29	„	Arkát	French E. I. C.	App. 139
[„ ?]	30	„	„	„	„ 140
„	19	Ⱥ	Murshidábád	E. I. C.	App. 24, 26-27
1204	„	„	„	„	„ 33-34, 43
„	„	Ɍ	„	„	„ 41-42
[„]	31	„	Farrukhábád	Sháh-'Álam	1179
„	45	„	„	E. I. C.	App. 54
1205	32	Ⱥ	Sháhjahánábád	Sháh-'Álam	1094
[„]	„	Ɍ	Súrat	„	1165
1206	34	Ⱥ	Sháhjahánábád	„	1095
1207	35	Ɍ	Benáres	„	1145-46
„	32	„	Arkát	French E. I. C.	App. 143
1208	[3]5	Æ	„	E. I. C.	„ 186
1209	37	Ⱥ	Benáres	Sháh-'Álam	1142
—	„	Æ	—	E. I. C.	App. 164-75
1210	36	Ɍ	Najíbábád	Sháh-'Álam	1202
1212	26	„	Benáres	E. I. C.	App. 57
„	39	„	Masulipatan	„	„ 148
1213	6	„	Arkát	„	„ 104
1214	„	„	„	„	„ 106
—	„	„	„	„	„ 101-5, 107-8
1214	26	Ⱥ	Benáres	„	„ 55
„	39	Ɍ	Masulipatan	„	„ 149
„	41	„	Najíbábád	Sháh-'Álam	1203
1215	—	„	—	Akbar (posth.)	252*c-e*
„	42	„	Najíbábád	Sháh-'Álam	1204
„	26	„	Benáres	E. I. C.	App. 58
„	46	„	Súrat	„	„ 96-100
1216	39	„	Farrukhábád	Sháh-'Álam	1180
1217	„	„	„	„	1181
„	45	„	Sháhjahánábád	„	1106
1218	„	„	„	„	1107
„	39	„	Farrukhábád	„	1182-83
„	45	„	Akbarábád	„	1130
„	46	Ⱥ	Sháhjahánábád	„	1104
„	„	Ɍ	„	„	1099-1102, 1108-9
„	43	„	Arkát	French E. I. C.	App. 144
—	45	„	Farrukhábád	E. I. C.	„ 50-53
—	„	„	Mumbai-Súrat	„	„ 80
—	„	Æ	—	„	„ 176-80

Year. A.H.	Regnal year.	Metal.	MINT.	EMPEROR.	NO.
—	46	Ⱥ	Súrat	E. I. C.	App. 82-83, 87-93
—	,,	Æ	,,	,,	,, 85-86, 94-95
1219	,,	,,	Sháhjahánábád	Sháh-'Álam	1103
,,	47	Ⱥ	,,	,,	1110
,,	,,	Æ	,,	,,	1112
[,,]	,,	,,	Akbarábád	,,	1131
1220	,,	,,	,,	,,	1132
,,	,,	,,	Sháhjahánáhád	,,	1113
,,	48	,,	,,	,,	1114-15
1221	,,	Ⱥ	,,	,,	1111
,,	26	Æ	Benáres	E. I. C.	App. 59
,,	48	Æ	,,	,,	,, 181, 183
,,	49	Æ	Sháhjahánábád	Sháh-'Álam	1116-17
[,,]	,,	Æ	Arkát	E. I. C.	App. 186-87
,,	1	Æ	Sháhjahánábád	Muh. Akbar II.	1210
1222	,,	,,	,,	,,	1211
,,	49	,,	Benáres	Sháh-'Álam	1150
,,	26	,,	,,	E. I. C.	App. 60
1223	3	,,	Sháhjahánábád	Muh. Akbar II.	1212
1224	,,	,,	,,	,,	1213
,,	49	,,	Benáres	Sháh-'Álam	1151
1225	,,	,,	,,	,,	1152
[1226]	6	,,	Sháhjahánábád	Muh. Akbar II.	1214
,,	26	,,	Benáres	E. I. C.	App. 61
1227	,,	,,	,,	,,	,, 62
1228	49	Æ	,,	,,	,, 182
1229	26	Æ	,,	,,	,, 63
,,	49	,,	,,	,,	,, 66
1231	26	,,	,,	,,	,, 64
1233	,,	,,	,,	,,	,, 65
1235	,,	Ⱥ	,,	,,	,, 56
1257	5	Æ	Sháhjahánábád	Bahádur II.	1217
1258	6	,,	,,	,,	1218

ANNI DOMINI

A.D.	A.H.	MINT.	COMPANY.	NO.
1784	1198	Murshidábád	E. I. C.	App. 28
1802	—	Súrat	,,	,, 81
1825	—	,,	,,	,, 85-6

XII

MOGHUL MINTS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

Agrah.
Ahmadábád.
Ahmadnagar.
Ajáyúr.
Ajmír.
Akbarábád.
Akbarnagar.
'A'lamgírpúr.
Alláhábád.
Arkát (*Arcot*).
Asírgarh.
Aurangábád.
A'zamnagar.
'Azímábád.
Bahádurpatan.
Bairátah.
Barailí.
Bhakkar.
Benáres.
Bíjápúr.
Bombay.
Burhánpúr.
Calcutta.
Cambay.
Cashmere.
Champanir.
Chíuápatan (*Madras*).
Daulatábád (*Deogír*).
Dehlí.
Dhákká.
Dilshádábád.
Dógám.
Etáwá.
Farrukhábád.
Fathpúr (*Síkrí*).
Gangpúr.
Golkondah.
Gútí.
Gwálior.
Haidarábád.
Iláhábád.
Imtiyázgarh (*Adoni*).
Indrapúr (*Indore*).
Islámábád (*Chittagong*).
Jahángírnagar.
Jaipúr.
Jalaonábád ?
Jaunpúr.
Júnágarh.
Kábul.
Kanbáyat.
Kandahár.
Kashmír.
Katak.
Khujistah-bunyád
Kúrá (*Korah*).
Lahore.
Lucknow.
Machhlipatan (*Masulipatan*).
Málpúr.
Mu'azzamábád.
Muhammadábád (Udaipúr, Benáres).
Mumbai-Súrat.
Munbai.
Murádábád.
Murshidábád.
Multán.
Najíbábád.
Nárnól.
Nasratábád.
Oudh.
Patnah
Pesháwar.
Rájmahall.
Sárangpúr.
Sháhábád.
Sháhjahánábád.
Sholápúr.
Sirhind.
Sítápúr.
Siwái-Jaipúr.
Srínagar.
Súrat.
Tattah.
Udaipúr.
Ujjain.
Urdú.
Urdú-Zafar-Karíu.
Zafarábád.
Zafarpúr

XIII

HONORIFIC EPITHETS OF MINTS

Epithet.	Mint.	Emperors.
بلدة	Agrah	Akbar
حضرت	Dehlí	Akbar
خجسته بنیاد	Aurangábád	Aurangzíb, &c.
شهر اکره خسرو پناه	Agrah	Jahángír
دار الاسلام	Dógám	Akbar
دار الامان	Multán	Aurangzíb
دار الخلافه	Agrah	Akbar, Sháh-Jahán
,, ,,	Ahmadábád	Akbar
,, ,,	Gwálior	Akbar
,, ,,	Jaunpúr	Akbar
,, ,,	Lahore	Akbar
,, ,,	Akbarábád (Agrah)	Sháh-Jahán
,, ,,	Sháhjahánábád (Dehlí)	Sháh-Jahán, Aurangzíb, &c.
دار الخیر	Ajmír	Aurangzíb
دار السرور	Burhánpúr	Bahádur, Farrukh-siyar
دار السلطنه	Ahmadábád	Akbar
,, ,,	Fathpúr	Akbar
,, ,,	Lahore	Akbar, Sháh-Jahán, Aurangzíb, Bahádur, &c.
دار الظفر	Bíjápúr	Aurangzíb, Bahádur, &c.
دار الفتح	Ujjain	Bahádur
دار الملك	Kábul	Aurangzíb
مستقر الخلافه	Akbarábád (Agrah)	Aurangzíb, Farrukh-siyar, &c.
,, ,,	Ajmír	Bahádur
الملك ,,	Akbarábád (Agrah)	Bahádur, Jahándár, Farrukh-siyar.

XIV

PERSIAN DISTICHS AND QUATRAINS ON MOGHUL COINS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

AKBAR

مهر مهر شاه اکبر ابروی این زر است
تا زمین و اسمان را مهر انور زیور است

The sun of the seal of Sháh Akbar is the glory of this gold
Whilst earth and sky are illumined by the shining sun.

زر ست از مهر اکبر پادشاه نور
بر ان زر نام شه نور علی نور

By the seal of Akbar Pádisháh gold becomes bright :
On this gold the Sháh's name is "light upon light."

همیشه همچو زر مهر وماه رائج باد
بغرب وشرق جهان سکهٔ اله اباد

Like the golden orb of sun and moon, may ever pass
In the world's West and East the stamp of Alláhábád.

JAHÁNGÍR

مالك الملك سكه زد بر زر
شاه سلطان سليم شاه اكبر

The lord of the realm struck money of gold,
Sháh Sultán Salím, Akbar Sháh's [son].

روی زررا ساخت نورانی برنك مهر و ماه
شاه نور الدين جهانكير ابن اكبر پادشاه

Made the face of gold to shine like the sun and moon
Sháh Núr-ad-dín Jahángír, son of Akbar Pádisháh.

سکه زد در شهر اکره خسرو گیتی پناه
شاه نور الدین جهانگیر ابن اکبر پادشاه

Money struck in the city of Agrah the Cæsar, refuge of the world,
Sháh Núr-ad-dín Jahángír, son of Akbar Pádisháh

زد بزر این سکه در اجمیر شاه دین پناه
شاه نور الدین جهانگیر ابن اکبر پاد شاه

The Sháh, refuge of the faith, put this stamp on gold at Ajmír
Sháh Núr-ad-dín Jahángír, son of Akbar Pádisháh.

از شاه جهانگیر بود دور زمان
در اکره زنام اوست زر نور فشان
تا هست نشان زپنج نوبت بجهان
این سکهٔ پنج مهر یش باد روان

To Sháh Jahángír belongs the whirligig of Time;
In Agrah by his name gold shines brightly:
So long as the pomp of the Five Guards * lasts in the world,
May the stamp of his Five-Mohrs be current.

بشرق وغرب مهر احمد اباد
الهی تا جهان باشد روان باد

In East and West may the stamp of Ahmadábád,
O God, while the world lasts, be current.

همیشه باد ابرروی سکهٔ لاهور
زنام شاه جهانگیر شاه اکبر نور

On the money of Lahore may there ever be
Light, by the name of Sháh Jahángír, Sháh Akbar's [son].

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* i.e. The five daily prayers.

بروی سکهٔ زر داد چندین زیب وزیور
شبیه شاه نور الدین جهانگیر ابن شاه اکبر
زد بزر این سکه در اجمیر شاه دین پناه
شاه نور الدین جهانگیر ابن اکبر پادشاه

On the face of the golden coin, ornament and grace gave
The picture of Sháh Núr-ad-dín Jahángír, son of Akbar Sháh.
The Sháh, refuge of the faith, struck this coin of gold at Ajmír,
Sháh Núr-ad-dín Jahángír, son of Akbar Pádisháh.

قضا بر سکه زر کرد تصویر
شبیه حضرت شاه جهانگیر
حروف جهانگیر و الله اکبر
ز روز ازل در عدد شد برابر

Destiny has drawn on money of gold
The portrait of his Majesty Sháh Jahángír.
The letters of Jahángír and Alláhu Akbar
Are equal in value from the beginning of time.

یافت در اکره روی زر زیور
از جهانگیر شاه شاه اکبر

The face of gold was decorated at Agrah
By Jahángír Sháh, Sháh Akbar's [son].

سکهٔ اکزه داد زینت زر
از جهانگیر شاه شاه اکبر

The money of Agrah gave ornament to gold
By Jahángír Sháh, Sháh Akbar's [son].

سکه زد در احمدابـاد جنانات الـه
شاه نور الدین جهانگیر ابن اکبر پادشاه

Money struck at Ahmadábád, God's Paradise,
Sháh Núr-ad-dín Jahángír, son of Akbar Pádisháh.

زر احمدابـاد را داد زیـور
جهانـگیر شاه شهنشاه اکبر

To the gold of Ahmadábád gave adornment
Jahángír Sháh, Sháhánsháh Akbar's [son].

بدهر باد روان تا فلك بود در دور
بنـام شـاه جهانـگیر سکـهٔ لاهور

So long as the heavens revolve, current be
In the name of Sháh Jahángír the money of Lahore.

سکـه زد در احمدابـاد از عنـایات الـه
شاه نور الدین جهـانـگیـر ابن اکبر پـادشاه

Money struck at Ahmadábád by the blessings of God
Sháh Núr-ad-dín Jahángír, son of Akbar Pádisháh.

در اسفندارمز این سکه را در اکره زد برزر
شهنشاه زمان شاه جهانـگیر ابن شاه اکبر

In Isfandármiz at Agrah this stamp struck on gold
The Sháh of Sháhs of the world, Sháh Jahángír, son of
Sháh Akbar.

زر لاهور شد در ماه بهمن چون مه انور
بدور شاه نور الدین جهانگیر ابن شاه اکبر

The gold of Lahore in the month Bahman became like the
shining moon,
In the reign of Sháh Núr-ad-dín Jahángír, son of Sháh Akbar.

جهـان فیروز در اجمیر کشت سکـهٔ زر
ز نـور نـام جهـانـگیـر شـاه شـاه اکبر

The light of the world at Ajmír became the money of gold
By the light of the name of Jahángír, Sháh, Sháh Akbar's [son].

سکهٔ قندهار شد دلخواه
از جهانگیر شاه اکبر شاه

The money of Kandahár became beauteous
By Jahángír Sháh, Akbar Sháh's [son].

JAHÁNGIR AND NÚR-JAHÁN

زحکم شاه جهانگیر یافت صد زیور (or بحکم)
زنام نور جهان پادشاه بیگم زر

By order of Sháh Jahángír a hundred beauties gained
Gold by the name of Núr-Jahán Pádisháh Bégam.

SHÁH-JAHÁN

سکهٔ شاهجهانآباد رائج در جهان
جاودان بادا بنام ثانی صاحب قران

Be the money of Sháhjahánábád current through the world
For ever by the name of the other "Lord of the Conjunction."

MURÁD BAKHSH

گرفت ارث زصاحبقران شاه جهانی
مراد بخش شه محمد سکندر ثانی

Took the heritage of the "Lord of the Conjunction," Sháh Jahán,
Murád Bakhsh Muhammad Sháh, Second Alexander.

AURANGZÍB 'ÁLAMGÍR

سکه زد در جهان چو مهر منیر
شاه اورنك زیب عالم گیر

Struck money through the world like the shining sun
Sháh Aurangzíb 'Álamgír.

سکه زد در جهان چو بدر منیر
شـــاه اورنگزیب عالم گیـــر

Struck money through the world like the shining moon
Sháh Aurangzíb 'Álamgír.

A'ZAM SHÁH

سکه زد در جهان بدولت وجاه
پـاد شاه ممالـك اعـظم شاه

Struck money through the world with might and majesty
Pádisháh of the realms A'zam Sháh.

KÁM BAKHSH

سکه زد بـــر خـورشـيـد ومـــاه
شاه دکن کام بـخش پـاد[شاه]

Struck money on sun and moon [*i.e.* gold and silver]
The Sháh of the Deccan Kám Bakhsh Pádisháh.

JAHÁNDÁR

زد سکه بر زر چون مهر صـاحـب قران
جـهـانـدار شـاه پادشاه جـهـان

Struck money of gold like the sun the "Lord of the Conjunction"
Jahándár Sháh, Pádisháh of the world.

در آفاق زد سکه چون مهر وماه
ابو الـفـتح غـازی جهاندار شاه

In the horizons struck money like sun and moon
Abu-l-Fath Victorious Jahándár Sháh.

FARRUKH-SIYAR

سکه زد از فضل حق بر سیم و زر
پـــادشـــاه بـحـر و بـر فرخ سیر

Struck money of gold and silver by grace of The Truth
The Pádisháh of sea and land Farrukh-siyar.

RAFÍ'-AD-DARAJÁT

زد سکه بهند با هـزاران برکـات
شاهنشه بحر و بـر رفیع الدرجـات

Struck money in India, with a thousand blessings,
Sháh of Sháhs by sea and land Rafí'-ad-daraját.

NÍKÚ-SIYAR

سکه زد در جهان بلطف اله
پـادشاه زمـان محمد شـاه

Struck money through the world by grace of God
Muhammad Sháh Pádisháh of the Age.

IBRÁHÍM

سـکـه بر سیم زد در جـــهـــان
بفضل محمد ابرهیم شاه شاهان

Money of silver struck through the world,
By favour of Muhammad, Ibráhím Sháh of Sháhs.

'ÁLAMGÍR II

سکه زد بـر هفت کشور همچو تابان مهر وماه
شـاه عزیز الدین عالمگیر غازی پـادشـاه

Struck money in the seven climates shining like the sun and moon
Sháh 'Azíz-ad-dín 'Álamgír Victorious Pádisháh.

XV. COMPARATIVE TABLE OF HIJRAH AND CHRISTIAN YEARS AND MONTHS*

A.H.	A.D.	Muharram	Safar	Rabí' I	Rabí' II	Jumádá I	Jumádá II	Rajab	Sha'bán	Ramadán	Shawwál	Zú-l-Ka'dah	Zú-l-Hijjah
932	1525	18. x. D	17. xi. F	16. xii. G	26. 15. i. B	13. ii. C	15. iii. E	13. iv. F	13. v. A	11. vi. B	11. vii. D	9. viii. E	8. ix. G
933	1526	8. x. B	7. xi. D	6. xii. E	27. 5. i. G	3. ii. A	5. iii. C	3. iv. D	3. v. F	1. vi. G	1. vii. B	30. vii. C	29. viii. E
934	1527	27. ix. F	27. x. A	25. xi. B	25. xii. D	28. 23. i. E	22. ii. G	22. iii. A	21. iv. C	20. v. D	19. vi. F	18. vii. G	17. viii. B
935	1528	15. ix. C	15. x. E	13. xi. F	13. xii. A	29. 11. i. B	10. ii. D	11. iii. E	10. iv. G	9. v. A	8. vi. C	7. vii. D	6. viii. F
936	1529	5. ix. A	5. x. C	3. xi. D	3. xii. F	30. 1. i. G	31. i. B	1. iii. C	31. iii. E	29. iv. F	29. v. A	27. vi. B	27. vii. D
937	1530	25. viii. E	24. ix. G	23. x. A	22. xi. C	21. xii. D	31. 20. i. F	18. ii. G	20. iii. B	18. iv. C	18. v. E	16. vi. F	16. vii. A
938	1531	15. viii. C	14. ix. E	13. x. F	12. xi. A	11. xii. B	32. 10. i. D	8. ii. E	9. iii. G	7. iv. A	7. v. C	5. vi. D	5. vii. F
939	1532	3. viii. G	2. ix. B	1. x. C	31. x. E	29. xi. F	29. xii. A	33. 27. i. B	26. ii. D	27. iii. E	26. iv. G	25. v. A	24. vi. C
940	1533	23. vii. D	22. viii. F	20. ix. G	20. x. B	18. xi. C	18. xii. E	34. 16. i. F	15. ii. A	16. iii. B	15. iv. D	14. v. E	13. vi. G
941	1534	13. vii. B	12. viii. D	10. ix. E	10. x. G	8. xi. A	8. xii. C	35. 6. i. D	5. ii. F	6. iii. G	5. iv. B	4. v. C	3. vi. E
942	1535	2. vii. F	1. viii. A	30. viii. B	29. ix. D	28. x. E	27. xi. G	26. xii. A	36. 25. i. C	23. ii. D	24. iii. F	22. iv. G	22. v. B
943	1536	20. vi. C	20. vii. E	18. viii. F	17. ix. A	16. x. B	15. xi. D	14. xii. E	37. 13. i. G	11. ii. A	13. iii. C	11. iv. D	11. v. F
944	1537	10. vi. A	10. vii. C	8. viii. D	7. ix. F	6. x. G	5. xi. B	4. xii. C	38. 3. i. E	1. ii. F	3. iii. A	1. iv. B	1. v. D
945	1538	30. v. E	29. vi. G	28. vii. A	27. viii. C	25. ix. D	25. x. F	23. xi. G	23. xii. B	39. 21. i. C	20. ii. E	21. iii. F	20. iv. A
946	1539	19. v. B	18. vi. D	17. vii. E	16. viii. G	14. ix. A	14. x. C	12. xi. D	12. xii. F	40. 10. i. G	9. ii. B	9. iii. C	8. iv. E
947	1540	8. v. G	7. vi. B	6. vii. C	5. viii. E	3. ix. F	3. x. A	1. xi. B	1. xii. D	30. xii. E	41. 29. i. G	27. ii. A	29. iii. C
948	1541	27. iv. D	27. v. F	25. vi. G	25. vii. B	23. viii. C	22. ix. E	21. x. F	20. xi. A	19. xii. B	42. 18. i. D	16. ii. E	18. iii. G
949	1542	17. iv. B	17. v. D	15. vi. E	15. vii. G	13. viii. A	12. ix. C	11. x. D	10. xi. F	9. xii. G	43. 8. i. B	6. ii. C	8. iii. E
950	1543	6. iv. F	6. v. A	4. vi. B	4. vii. D	2. viii. E	1. ix. G	30. ix. A	30. x. C	28. xi. D	28. xii. F	44. 26. i. G	25. ii. B

* The month, day, and day of the week of the Christian year are placed under each Muhammadan month, and correspond to the first of that month. The week-days are lettered A (for Sunday), B (Monday), C (Tuesday), D (Wednesday), E (Thursday), F (Friday), G (Saturday). The months are indicated by Roman numerals. Thus 17. xi. F in the first line of the table shows that the month Safar of A.H. 932 began on Friday the 17th of November, 1525. The table is adapted from Wüstenfeld's well-known *Vergleichungs-Tabellen*, Leipzig, 1854.

A.H.	A.D.	Muharram	Safar	Rabi' I	Rabi' II	Jumádá I	Jumádá II	Rajab	Sha'bán	Ramadán	Shawwál	Zú-l-Ka'dah	Zú-l-Hijjah
951	1544	25. iii. C	24. iv. E	23. v. F	22. vi. A	21. vii. B	20. viii. D	18. ix. E	18. x. G	16. xi. A	16. xii. C	45. 14. i. D	13. ii. F
952	1545	15. iii. A	14. iv. C	13. v. D	12. vi. F	11. vii. G	10. viii. B	8. ix. C	8. x. E	6. xi. F	6. xii. A	46. 4. i. B	3. ii. D
953	1546	4. iii. E	3. iv. G	2. v. A	1. vi. C	30. vi. D	30. vii. F	29. viii. G	27. ix. B	26. x. C	25. xi. E	24. xii. F	47. 23. i. A
954	1547	21. ii. B	23. iii. D	21. iv. E	21. v. G	19. vi. A	19. vii. C	17. viii. D	16. ix. F	15. x. G	14. xi. B	13. xii. C	48. 12. i. E
955	1548	11. ii. G	12. iii. B	10. iv. C	10. v. E	8. vi. F	8. vii. A	6. viii. B	5. ix. D	4. x. E	3. xi. G	2. xii. A	49. 1. i. C
956	1549	30. i. D	1. iii. F	30. iii. G	29. iv. B	28. v. C	27. vi. E	26. vii. F	25. viii. A	23. ix. B	23. x. D	21. xi. E	21. xii. G
957	1550	20. i. B	19. ii. D	20. iii. E	19. iv. G	18. v. A	17. vi. C	16. vii. D	15. viii. F	13. ix. G	13. x. B	11. xi. C	11. xii. E
958	1551	9 i. F	8. ii. A	9. iii. B	8. iv. D	7. v. E	6. vi. G	5. vii. A	4. viii. C	2. ix. D	2. x. F	31. x. G	30. xi. B
959	1551	29. xii. C	52. 28. i. E	26. ii. F	27. iii. A	25. iv. B	25. v. D	23. vi. E	23. vii. G	21. viii. A	20. ix. C	19. x. D	18. xi. F
960	1552	18. xii. A	53. 17. i. C	15. ii. D	17. iii. F	15. iv. G	15. v. B	13. vi. C	13. vii. E	11. viii. F	10. ix. A	9. x. B	8. xi. D
961	1553	7. xii. E	54. 6. i. G	4. ii. A	6. iii. C	4. iv. D	4. v. F	2. vi. G	2. vii. B	31. vii. C	30. viii. E	28. ix. F	28. x. A
962	1554	26. xi. B	26. xii. D	55. 24. i. E	23. ii. G	24. iii. A	23. iv. C	22. v. D	21. vi. F	20. vii. G	19. viii. B	17. ix. C	17. x. E
963	1555	16. xi. G	16. xii. B	56. 14. i. C	13. ii. E	13. iii. F	12. iv. A	11. v. B	10. vi. D	9. vii. E	8. viii. G	6. ix. A	6. x. C
964	1556	4. xi. D	4. xii. F	57. 2. i. G	1. ii. B	2. iii. C	1. iv. E	30. iv. F	30. v. A	28. vi. B	28. vii. D	26. viii. E	25. ix. G
965	1557	24. x. A	23. xi. C	22. xii. D	58. 21. i. F	19. ii. G	21. iii. B	19. iv. C	19. v. E	17. vi. F	17. vii. A	15. viii. B	14. ix. D
966	1558	14. x. F	13. xi. A	12. xii. B	59. 11. i. D	9. ii. E	11. iii. G	9. iv. A	9. v. C	7. vi. D	7. vii. F	5. viii. G	4. ix. B
967	1559	3. x. C	2. xi. E	1. xii. F	31. xii. A	60. 29. i. B	28. ii. D	28. iii. E	27. iv. G	26. v. A	25. vi. C	24. vii. D	23. viii. F
968	1560	22. ix. A	22. x. C	20. xi. D	20. xii. F	61. 18. i. G	17. ii. B	18. iii. C	17. iv. E	16. v. F	15. vi. A	14. vii. B	13. viii. D
969	1561	11. ix. E	11. x. G	9. xi. A	9. xii. C	62. 7. i. D	6. ii. F	7. iii. G	6. iv. B	5. v. C	4. vi. E	3. vii. F	2. viii. A
970	1562	31. viii. B	30. ix. D	29. x. E	28. xi. G	27. xii. A	63. 26. i. C	24. ii. D	26. iii. F	24. iv. G	24. v. B	22. vi. C	22. vii. E
971	1563	21. viii. G	20. ix. B	19. x. C	18. xi. E	17. xii. F	64. 16. i. A	14. ii. B	15. iii. D	13. iv. E	13. v. G	11. vi. A	11. vii. C
972	1564	9. viii. D	8. ix. F	7. x. G	6. xi. B	5. xii. C	65. 4. i. E	2. ii. F	4. iii. A	2. iv. B	2. v. D	31. v. E	30. vi. G
973	1565	29. vii. A	28. viii. C	26. ix. D	26. x. F	24. xi. G	24. xii. B	66. 22. i. C	21. ii. E	22. iii. F	21. iv. A	20. v. B	19. vi. D
974	1566	19. vii. F	18. viii. A	16. ix. B	16. x. D	14. xi. E	14. xii. G	67. 12. i. A	11. ii. C	12. iii. D	11. iv. F	10. v. G	9. vi. B

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A.E.	A.D.	Muharram	Safar	Rabí' I	Rabí' II	Jumádá I	Jumádá II	Rajab	Sha'bán	Ramadán	Shawwál	Zú-l-Ka'dah	Zú-l Hijjah
1001	1592	8. x. E	7. xi. G	6. xii. A	93. 5. i. C	3. ii. D	5. iii. F	3. iv. G	3. v. B	1. vi. C	1. vii. E	30. vii. F	29. viii. A
1002	1593	27. ix. B	27. x. D	25. xi. E	25. xii. G	94. 23. i. A	22. ii. C	23. iii. D	22. iv. F	21. v. G	20. vi. B	19. vii. C	18. viii. E
1003	1594	16. ix. F	16. x. A	14. xi. B	14. xii. D	95. 12. i. E	11. ii. G	12. iii. A	11. iv. C	10. v. D	9. vi. F	8. vii. G	7. viii. B
1004	1595	6. ix. D	6. x. F	4. xi. G	4. xii. B	96. 2. i. C	1. ii. E	1. iii. F	31. iii. A	29. iv. B	29. v. D	27. vi. E	27. vii. G
1005	1596	25. viii. A	24. ix. C	23. x. D	22. xi. F	21. xii. G	97. 20. i. B	18. ii. C	20. iii. E	18. iv. F	18. v. A	16. vi. B	16. vii. D
1006	1597	14. viii. E	13. ix. G	12. x. A	11. xi. C	10. xii. D	98. 9. i. F	7. ii. G	9. iii. B	7. iv. C	7. v. E	5. vi. F	5. vii. A
1007	1598	4. viii. C	3. ix. E	2. x. F	1. xi. A	30. xi. B	30. xii. D	1599. 28. i. E	27. ii. G	28. iii. A	27. iv. C	26. v. D	25. vi. F
1008	1599	24. vii. G	23. viii. B	21. ix. C	21. x. E	19. xi. F	19. xii. A	1600. 17. i. B	16. ii. D	16. iii. E	15. iv. G	14. v. A	13. vi. C
1009	1600	13. vii. E	12. viii. G	10. ix. A	10. x. C	8. xi. D	8. xii. F	1601. 6. i. G	5. ii. B	6. iii. C	5. iv. E	4. v. F	3. vi. A
1010	1601	2. vii. B	1. viii. D	30. viii. E	29. ix. G	28. x. A	27. xi. C	26. xii. D	2. 25. i. F	23. ii. G	25. iii. B	23. iv. C	23. v. E
1011	1602	21. vi. F	21. vii. A	19. viii. B	18. ix. D	17. x. E	16. xi. G	25. xii. A	3. 14. i. C	12. ii. D	14. iii. F	12. iv. G	12. v. B
1012	1603	11. vi. D	11. vii. F	9. viii. G	8. ix. B	7. x. C	6. xi. E	5. xii. F	4. 4. i. A	2. ii. B	3. iii. D	1. iv. E	1. v. G
1013	1604	30. v. A	29. vi. C	28. vii. D	27. viii. F	25. ix. G	25. x. B	23. xi. C	23. xii. E	5. 21. i. F	20. ii. A	21. iii. B	20. iv. D
1014	1605	19. v. E	18. vi. G	17. vii. A	16. viii. C	14. ix. D	14. x. F	12. xi. G	12. xii. B	6. 10. i. C	9. ii. E	10. iii. F	9. iv. A
1015	1606	9. v. C	8. vi. E	7. vii. F	6. viii. A	4. ix. B	4. x. D	2. xi. E	2. xii. G	31. xii. A	7. 30. i. C	28. ii. D	30. iii. F
1016	1607	28. iv. G	28. v. B	26. vi. C	26. vii. E	24. viii. F	23. ix. A	22. x. B	21. xi. D	20. xii. E	8. 19. i. G	17. ii. A	18. iii. C
1017	1608	17. iv. E	17. v. G	15. vi. A	15. vii. C	13. viii. D	12. ix. F	11. x. G	10. xi. B	9. xii. C	9. 8. i. E	6. ii. F	8. iii. A
1018	1609	6. iv. B	6. v. D	4. vi. E	4. vii. G	2. viii. A	1. ix. C	30. ix. D	30. x. F	28. xi. G	28. xii. B	10. 26. i. C	25. ii. E
1019	1610	26. iii. F	25. iv. A	24. v. B	23. vi. D	22. vii. E	21. viii. G	19. ix. A	19. x. C	17. xi. D	17. xii. F	11. 15. i. G	14. ii. B
1020	1611	16. iii. D	15. iv. F	14. v. G	13. vi. B	12. vii. C	11. viii. E	9. ix. F	9. x. A	7. xi. B	7. xii. D	12. 5. i. E	4. ii. G
1021	1612	4. iii. A	3. iv. C	2. v. D	1. vi. F	30. vi. G	30. vii. B	28. viii. C	27. ix. E	26. x. F	25. xi. A	24. xii. B	13. 23. i. D
1022	1613	21. ii. E	23. iii. G	21. iv. A	21. v. C	19. vi. D	19. vii. F	17. viii. G	16. ix. B	15. x. C	14. xi. E	13. xii. F	14. 12. i. A
1023	1614	11. ii. C	13. iii. E	11. iv. F	11. v. A	9. vi. B	9. vii. D	7. viii. E	6. ix. G	5. x. A	4. xi. C	3. xii. D	15. 2. i. F
1024	1615	31. . G	2. iii. B	31. iii. C	30. iv. E	29. v. F	28. vi. A	27. vii. B	26. viii. D	24. ix. E	24. x. G	22. xi. A	2. xii. C

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A.H.	A.D.	Muharram	Safar	Rabí' I	Rabí' II	Jumádá I	Jumádá II	Rajab	Sha'bán	Ramadán	Shawwál	Zú-l-Ka'dah	Zú-l-Hijjah
1051	1641	12. iv. F	12. v. A	10. vi. B	10. vii. D	8. viii. E	7. ix. G	6. x. A	5. xi. C	4. xii. D	42. 3. i. F	1. ii. G	3. iii. B
1052	1642	1. iv. C	1. v. E	30. v. F	29. vi. A	28. vii. B	27. viii. D	25. ix. E	25. x. G	23. xi. A	23. xii. C	43. 21. i. D	20. ii. F
1053	1643	22. iii. A	21. iv. C	20. v. D	19. vi. F	18. vii. G	17. viii. B	15. ix. C	15. x. E	13. xi. F	13. xii. A	44. 11. i. B	10. ii. D
1054	1644	10. iii. E	9. iv. G	8. v. A	7. vi. C	6. vii. D	5. viii. F	3. ix. G	3. x. B	1. xi. C	1. xii. E	30. xii. F	45. 29. i. A
1055	1645	27. ii. B	29. iii. D	27. iv. E	27. v. G	25. vi. A	25. vii. C	23. viii. D	22. ix. F	21. x. G	20. xi. B	19. xii. C	46. 18. i. E
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1059	1649	15. i. F	14. ii. A	15. iii. B	14. iv. D	13. v. E	12. vi. G	11. vii. A	10. viii. C	8. ix. D	8. x. F	6. xi. G	6. xii. B
1060	1650	4. i. C	3. ii. E	4. iii. F	3. iv. A	2. v. B	1. vi. D	30. vi. E	30. vii. G	28. viii. A	27. ix. C	26. x. D	25. xi. F
1061	1650	25. xii. A	51. 24. i. C	22. ii. D	24. iii. F	22. iv. G	22. v. B	20. vi. C	20. vii. E	18. viii. F	17. ix. A	16. x. B	15. xi. D
1062	1651	14. xii. E	52. 13. i. G	11. ii. A	12. iii. C	10. iv. D	10. v. F	8. vi. G	8. vii. B	6. viii. C	5. ix. E	4. x. F	3. xi. A
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1069	1658	29. ix. A	29. x. C	27. xi. D	27. xii. F	59. 25. i. G	24. ii. B	25. iii. C	24. iv. E	23. v. F	22. vi. A	21. vii. B	20. viii. D
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A.H.	A.D.	Muharram	Safar	Rabí' I	Rabí' II	Jumádá I	Jumádá II	Rajab	Sha'bán	Ramadán	Shawwál	Zú-l-Ka'dah	Zú-l-Hijjah
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1102	1690	5. x. E	4. xi. G	3. xii. A	91. 2. i. C	31. i. D	2. iii. F	31. iii. G	30. iv. B	29. v. C	28. vi. E	27. vii. F	26. viii. A
1103	1691	24. ix. B	24. x. D	22. xi. E	22. xii. G	92. 20. i. A	19. ii. C	19. iii. D	18. iv. F	17. v. G	16. vi. B	15. vii. C	14. viii. E
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1105	1693	2. ix. D	2. x. F	31. x. G	30. xi. B	29. xii. C	94. 28. i. E	26. ii. F	28. iii. A	26. iv. B	26. v. D	24. vi. E	24. vii. G
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1112	1700	18. vi. F	18. vii. A	16. viii. B	15. ix. D	14. x. E	13. xi. G	12. xii. A	1701. 11. i. C	9. ii. D	11. iii. F	9. iv. G	9. v. B
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A.H.	A.D.	Muharram	Safar	Rabí' I	Rabí' II	Jumádá I	Jumádá II	Rajab	Sha'bán	Ramadán	Shawwál	Zú-l-Ka'dah	Zú-l-Hijjah
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1157	1744	15. ii. G	16. iii. B	14. iv. C	14. v. E	12. vi. F	12. vii. A	10. viii. B	9. ix. D	8. x. E	7. xi. G	6. xii. A	45. 5. i. C
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1159	1746	24. i. B	23. ii. D	24. iii. E	23. iv. G	22. v. A	21. vi. C	20. vii. D	19. viii. F	17. ix. G	17. x. B	15. xi. C	15. xii. E
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A.H.	A.D.	Muharram	Safar	Rabí' I	Rabí' II.	Jumádá I	Jumádá II	Rajab	Sha'bán	Ramadán	Shawwál	Zú-l-Ka'dah	Zú-l-Hijjah
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1203	1788	2. x. E	1. xi. G	30. xi. A	30. xii. C	89. 28. i. D	27. ii. F	28. iii. G	27. iv. B	26. v. C	25. vi. E	24. vii. F	23. viii. A
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